TAXING BLACKNESS: TRIBUTE AND FREE-COLORED COMMUNITY IN COLONIAL MEXICO

by

Norah Linda Andrews

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland

May, 2014

Abstract

Royal tribute from free people of African descent, though an insignificant source of revenue for the Spanish Crown, defined community, family, and reputation (*calidad*) for the purposes of the colonial regime in eighteenth-century Mexico. "Taxing Blackness" uses royal tribute registers to show how bureaucrats and local officials delineated communities around shared financial obligations. By defining tributaries in relation to one another—as spouses, children, or neighbors—bureaucrats used tributary status to distinguish free-colored communities and genealogies from those of Spaniards, Indians, or other people of mixed ancestry. In theory, these methods would lead to more efficient collection, though this goal proved elusive. The dissertation compares these quantitative data with petitions from free-coloreds for tribute exemption in which individuals and families interpreted and deployed ideas about lineage and privilege to improve their economic lives and reputations. This approach peels away the layers of meaning in *calidad*, a description of reputation ubiquitous in the eighteenth century. This dissertation finds that the majority of free-colored tributaries were people with families whose livelihoods and reputations depended upon satisfying colonial obligations, including royal tribute. Genealogy, privilege, and *calidad* characterized tributary subjecthood in the eighteenth century.

Readers: Ben Vinson, III, Gabriel Paquette, Sara Castro-Klarén, Franklin Knight, and María Portuondo

Preface

My interest in Afromexico began in Mérida, Yucatán, in the bookstore of the Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán in 2006. I was studying abroad as a junior at Wesleyan University and was considering possible senior thesis topics. I picked up Melchor Campos García's *Castas, feligresía y ciudadanía en Yucatán: Los afromestizos bajo el régimen constitucional español, 1750-1822*, published by the university in 2005. Until then, I did not know anything about the history of Africans and their descendants in Mexico. I took that book to the beach town of Tulum in Quintana Roo, where I read it in a hammock. Under the direction of Ann Wightman, I turned this chance meeting with Afromexican history into a senior thesis on the marriage choices of free-coloreds.

Research for my senior thesis, "Marriage Patterns among *Afromestizos* in Mérida and Campeche from 1789 to 1822," led me to the work of Ben Vinson, III. His scholarship inspired me to continue to investigate the opportunities—as well as the restrictions—for free-coloreds to define themselves within an oppressive colonial regime. In graduate school, I have truly enjoyed the archival approach to Afromexican history my adviser has taught me, as well as our countless fruitful discussions on this topic.

This dissertation has benefitted from many members of my intellectual community. I thank my adviser Gabriel Paquette for his enthusiasm for and dedication to my development as a scholar. I have had the invaluable opportunity to learn from my teachers and mentors in graduate school, including Sara Berry, Richard Kagan, Franklin

Knight, and Philip Morgan. Finally, I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their attention to my work.

My archival research in Mexico and Spain would not have been possible without the generous support of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation in the form of a Fellowship for Dissertation Research in Original Sources through The Council on Library and Information Resources. I also received travel grants for pre-dissertation work in Mexico City from the Program in Latin American Studies at Johns Hopkins. I am also grateful for the George and Sylvia Kagan Graduate Fellowship from Johns Hopkins.

My colleagues in Latin American history, Atlantic history, and Gender history have contributed their fresh ideas, thoughtful critiques, and time to my dissertation. I have gained insight from members of the Latin American History Workshop and the Gender History Workshop at Johns Hopkins, as well as the TePaske Seminar in Colonial Latin American History. I would also like to thank my friends and colleagues Linda Braun, Will Brown, Cathleen Carris, and Joe Clark for their suggestions.

My family has helped me become the kind of scholar and person I want to be. I am thankful for the support of my mother Charron and my brother David during graduate school. I thank my father William for setting examples of excellence and purpose in scholarship. Over the years, some people have observed that my work has commonalities with that of my father. I consider this very high praise.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures and Maps

Introduction: Privilege and Obligation

This dissertation examines the late-colonial characteristics of a tax on free-colored subjects levied between 1572 and 1810 in Mexico. The royal tribute that colonial authorities collected from free people of African descent, though an insignificant source of revenue, indicated the presence of communities and families. The tribute regime tracked free-colored social structures and local economic networks as potential sources of colonial wealth and knowledge. Where tributary identities crystallized, colonial administrators could draw free-coloreds into a system of taxation based on their connections with other tributaries. Free-coloreds, in turn, defined themselves in relation to tribute, either as taxpayers with property and families, or as exempt by virtue of their service or privilege. From the late-sixteenth century onward, people of African descent in New Spain would provide more royal tribute than free-coloreds in other parts of the Spanish Empire. By the eighteenth century, colonial authorities and ordinary people had begun to rely on markers of tributary status in discussions of free-colored social positions and obligations in colonial Mexico.

Tribute registers, combined with the instructions for their creation, were a kind of official reference book about Afromexican *calidad* in the eighteenth century. The men who created lists of tributary families had, for centuries, situated free-colored individuals and how they supposedly lived and associated with others in their communities.[1] Bourbon administrators wanted to know who lived together in order to count tributary

[1] Philip II issued a decree in 1577 calling for a free-colored tribute register "with their names and people with whom they live." See Libro VII, Título V, Ley III, in *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, Julián de Paredes, 1681; Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1973).

units and certify *calidad* at the local level. Registers mapped kinship and family relationships as part of an administrative "management of reality."[2] Distilling complex social ties and local hierarchies required a heightened Bourbon administrative offensive. The result was a nascent method of formalizing knowledge in the second half of the eighteenth century. The proliferation of tribute registers, and especially their translation into printed grids, was part of a larger process in which states placed increasing value on numbers. In the sphere of Atlantic administration, in particular, the efficiency of data collection, the centrality of numeracy, and the need for visual representations such as charts were on the rise at the turn of the nineteenth century.[3] For peninsular and colonial administrators, seeing tribute through a grid, chart, or table (*mapa*) fundamentally changed the portrait of tributary community.

In New Spain, tribute was inextricably linked to a caste system (*sistema de castas*) that permeated bureaucratic, legal, religious, and artistic contexts.[4] The 3.7 million Indians and 300,000 free-coloreds who lived in what is now Mexico represented a tax base unrivaled in eighteenth-century North America.[5] Indians were the first to pay

---

[2] Catarina Madeira Santos, "Administrative knowledge in a colonial context: Angola in the eighteenth century," *British Journal for the History of Science* 43, no. 4 (2010): 543.

[3] Maeve E. Adams, "Numbers and Narratives: Epistemologies of Aggregation in British Statistics and Social Realism, c. 1790-1880," in *Statistics and the Public Sphere: Numbers and the People in Modern Britain, c. 1800-2000*, ed. Tom Crook and Glen O'Hara (New York: Routledge, 2011), 103.

[4] Studies of the caste system and its development include Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810: estudio etno-histórico*, 2nd ed. (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972) and Laura Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). For artistic production and the intricate *sistema de castas*, see Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); and Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[5] For these figures, see Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 126 and Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson, III, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean.* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 197.

tributes as part of a severe ecclesiastical and civil tax regime.[6] By enforcing tribute on free-colored and Indian families, the Crown asserted the similarities between Africans and Indians as "conquered peoples." The tax reduced the uncertainties surrounding free-colored status within a colonial legal system that excluded them from the two republics, one of Spaniards and another of Indians.[7] For the rapidly expanding populations who were neither Spanish nor Indian, colonial authorities implemented tribute as another notch on what two historians have called the "sliding scale of inferiority" among Spanish imperial subjects.[8]

The early presence of African slavery in Spanish America provided justification for free-colored tribute, a price paid for "living in peace and justice, having passed through slavery, being free."[9] In New Spain, blacks numbered more than 150,000 people by 1640; of these, only thirty percent were born in Africa.[10] As these American-born people transitioned to freedom, they would become vassals and subjects of the Spanish Crown. By the eighteenth century, this population encompassed *negros,* who were mostly or entirely of African lineage, born in Africa, the Americas, Iberia, or elsewhere; *mulatos,* who had some black ancestry, but could also have European or Indian blood;

---

[6] In addition to royal tributes (the *tributo real* and the *servicio real*), Indians paid a host of other taxes described in Nancy Farriss *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 40-41; and Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 205.

[7] The republic divisions allowed Indians to govern themselves locally, live in exclusive communities, and have access to separate courts within the colonial legal system. See Brian Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

[8] Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, in "Introduction: Racial Identites and Their Interpreters," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew O'Hara (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), 2.

[9] Libro VI, Título V, Ley I in *Recopilación*.

[10] An estimated 151,618 blacks lived in New Spain in 1646. Of these, 35,089 were born in Africa. Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 23.

morenos and *pardos* who were "brown" or "dark"; and less common castes like *lobos, chinos, coyotes,* and *zambaigos*.[11] Tribute laws incorporated these complex caste categories to contain the growing free population and retain its ideological connections to slavery. Rulers and tribute officials fixated on what they saw as the potential of black individuals to be grouped and economically exploited, if not as slaves, then as tributary units.

The basic unit of tribute was the family.[12] Though royal tribute has often been characterized as a head-tax, it actually counted units of married "whole tributaries" and "half tributaries," who included unmarried people and those married to exempt individuals. When Philip II established the tax in 1572, he specifically addressed the issue of intermarriage between Indians and African slaves or free-coloreds.[13] The following year the Crown issued a law stating that any offspring from such marriages "should pay tribute like the other Indians, even if they say they are not."[14] This law addressed the already prevalent mixture between Indian and African blood.[15] Free-coloreds could protect their children from tributary status through marriage. In 1576, Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa ruled that a *mulata* called Luisa Hernández from Antequera would not be charged tribute owing to her marriage to a Spaniard.[16] The family would remain the basic unit of taxation, and the source of genealogical information, for tribute privileges as well as obligations.

---

[11] Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México*, 270 and 282.
[12] Sherburne Friend Cook and Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Essays in Population History, Vol. I: Mexico and the Caribbean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 21-22.
[13] Libro VII, Título V, Ley II, *Recopilación*.
[14] Libro VI, Título III, Ley VII, *Recopilación.*
[15] Robert C. Schwaller, "'*Mulata*, Hija De *Negro* y India': Afro-Indigenous *Mulatos* in Early Colonial Mexico." *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (2011): 889.
[16] AGN, General de Parte vol. 1, exp. 673.

Tribute hinged on privilege and obligation. The categories of *indio* (Indian), *tributario* (tributary), and *natural* (native) formed the basis for Indian constructions of loyalty and vassalage.[17] Tribute was distinctive in that it linked taxation with caste, but free-colored tributary status was also based on age, place, military status, and occupation, any of which could indicate a privileged status and thus different treatment. Depending on local custom, women who were widows or had never married could be counted as tributaries. A tributary subject could be Indian or African (or both), male or female, rural or urban, as long as he or she provided income and labor to the Spanish Crown.

Possessing identities and privileges within tribute meant ascribing characteristics of caste and class to oneself, one's family, and one's lineage. The genealogical concept of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) was used widely to define difference in Iberian societies.[18] By the late-colonial period, *limpieza* had evolved to equate genealogical impurity with any non-Spanish blood, in particular the presence of African ancestry.[19] Rhetorics of genealogy and privilege became especially apparent in petitions and lawsuits seeking tribute exemption. Within these legal contests, high-ranking bureaucrats, local officials, and ordinary people used a shared vocabulary of genealogy and kinship tied to tributary status.

This dissertation examines *calidad* as a nexus of changing ideas and identifications related to blackness, blood, and tribute. In the eighteenth century,

---

[17] Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 86-87.
[18] David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past & Present* 174, no. 1 (2002): 3-41.
[19] María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 201.

tributary vocabulary incorporated *calidad*, a marker of reputation that described color, caste, occupation, and ancestry, among other characteristics.[20] *Calidad* condensed caste, socioeconomic status, and purity of blood, making this social marker a primary corollary for tribute. Some scholars have translated *calidad* as "race," but this word does not accurately convey the full meaning of *calidad* and introduces potentially ahistorical concepts simply through its use. As Peter Wade has pointed out, "only certain phenotypical variations make racial categories and the ones that count have emerged through history."[21] Though phenotype influenced *calidad*, early modern concepts of *calidad* did not necessarily adhere to the same phenotypical features that define race today. Color, caste, and other qualities of personhood could change based on social or institutional context. In the late-eighteenth century, bureaucrats in Mexico City debated, and ultimately upheld, the early modern belief that "bodily differences were real, but by no means permanent."[22] For ordinary people, "self-identification seemed to hinge on who was doing the asking, and why,"[23] though the potential for self-definition had its limits. People used the word "*calidad*" widely and toward a variety of legal and social goals, some of which concerned the meanings of African blood, dark skin color, and certain caste categories—a group of ideas and identifications that can be understood as "blackness." This dissertation analyzes the specific uses of *calidad* in the eighteenth century to discuss the meanings of blackness and to define the nature of tributary status.

---

[20] Robert McCaa, "*Calidad*, Clase and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788–90," *HAHR* 64 (3): 477-478.
[21] Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2010), 14.
[22] Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6.
[23] David Tavárez, "Legally Indian: Inquisitorial Readings of Indigenous Identity in New Spain," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara (Duke University Press, 2009), 82.

The institutions that ordinary people and bureaucrats navigated in New Spain were among the strongest in the Americas. As the centerpiece of Spanish Atlantic trade and effective colonial taxation, Mexico became the "tax jewel" of the Spanish Empire, especially after 1780.[24] Mexico City was the capital of the vast Viceroyalty of New Spain, which included the Philippines, the Spanish Caribbean islands, Florida, what is now the western United States, and Central America, with the exception of Panama. Within the viceroyalty, the Kingdom of New Spain contained most of the population.[25] Its capital city was a center of scholarship, religiosity, art, and the largest city in North America in the late-eighteenth century with more than 112,000 residents.[26]

The enormous remittances out of New Spain to Spain and within its colonies epitomize the extent of financial integration in the Spanish Empire. The success of taxation, including tribute collection, underpinned the fiscal transfers in the form of *situados* (subsidies) from New Spain to both the Atlantic and Pacific Spanish possessions. The "redistributive features" of Spanish imperial finance elevated the importance of New Spain, in particular for the Spanish Caribbean.[27] This fiscal characteristic of the Spanish Empire had broad implications: the practice of redistribution

[24] Carlos Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 58.
[25] I will use the abbreviated name "New Spain" to refer to the kingdom only.
[26] The precise figure given by Ernest Sánchez Santiró is 112,462 people. See Sánchez Santiró, *Padrón del Arzobispado de México 1777* (México, D.F.: Archivo General de la Nación, 2003), 55.
[27] See Carlos Marichal and Matilde Souto Mantecón, "Silver and Situados: New Spain and the Financing of the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 74 no. 4 (1994): 588-589 and Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin, "The Spanish Empire and its Legacy: Fiscal Re-distribution and Political Conflict in Colonial and Post-Colonial Spanish America," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 2 (2006): 252.

engendered a process of "bargaining for authority" in the peninsula and the Americas.[28] In the case of New Spain, colonial transfers accounted for double the amount of *pesos* remitted to Spain between 1796 and 1800.[29] Seen in this light, economic historians have undertaken a "profound revision of the relatively simple outline of *colony-metropolis* that we usually use to explain the fiscal dynamics of empires." The redistribution of regional funds was particularly important for defense: the *real caja* in Bolaños, now in Jalisco, sustained northern military outposts called *presidios* which themselves generated little tax revenue.[30] Colonial transfers also favored maritime ports to facilitate trade.[31] These regional connections demonstrate the influence of "periphery upon periphery"[32] in Spanish American finance.

More than 300,000 free-coloreds, as well as 10,000 slaves, formed vital labor forces in the urban centers and mining communities of New Spain.[33] Growing during the eighteenth century from just one percent to about ten percent of the population,[34] free-coloreds and their economic activities occupied an increasingly important place in the minds of policymakers in the eighteenth century. Thousands of free-coloreds paid tribute, with a remarkable surge in registration and collection following the visitation of José de Gálvez (1765-1771). An 1805 summary showed Indians paid more than 1.3

---

[28] Alejandra Irigoin and Regina Grafe, "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88 no. 2 (2008): 176.
[29] Grafe and Irigoin, "The Spanish Empire and its Legacy," 251.
[30] Carlos Marichal, "Una difícil transición fiscal. Del régimen colonial al México independiente, 1750-1850" in *De colonia a nación: Impuestos y política en México, 1750-1860*, ed. Carlos Marichal and Daniela Marino (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2001), 30.
[31] Grafe and Irigoin, "The Spanish Empire and its Legacy," 256.
[32] John J. TePaske, "Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York, Routledge, 2002), 39.
[33] Klein and Vinson, *African Slavery in Latin America*, 197.
[34] Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 1, 340.

million pesos in tribute, compared to about 200,000 pesos collected from free-coloreds.[35] Although the tribute regime was expanding, it was by no means the most important of New Spain's many tax sources. Mining taxes would contribute three times more revenue to royal treasuries than did tribute payments annually during the final decade of the eighteenth century.[36] Yet, collection of free-colored tribute continued to matter because it forced periodic contact between colonial governments and subjects. To categorize and control the population, to gain access to profitable labor markets, and to extract resources from its most prized colonial possession, the Bourbon state relied on tribute.

The overall tax structure of late-eighteenth-century New Spain grew out of revenue from mining and trade, though other sources of colonial wealth were robust. Royal tribute registration among Indians was actively expanding at a rate of between thirteen and twenty-five percent at the end of the century, reaching 1.1 million pesos in net income to the royal treasuries between 1795 and 1799.[37] This accounted for a little less than eight percent of the total revenue collected in the royal treasuries of New Spain, which exceeded 15.3 million pesos after accounting for collection costs.[38]

Using reports from the early-nineteenth century, one historian describes the structure of income for the Royal Treasury (*Real Hacienda*), naming the sources of revenue as state monopolies, such as tobacco (31.45%); mining taxes (26.02%); trade taxes (24.34%); Indian tribute (7.57%); Church fiscal transfers (4.3%); forced loans (4.26%); administrative income (0.6%); and other miscellaneous sources (1.47%).

---

[35] AGN, Tributos, Vol. 43, exp. 9. This summary includes the provinces of Arizpe, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Mérida, Mexico, Oaxaca, Potosí, Puebla, Valladolid, Veracruz, and Zacatecas.
[36] Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire*, 61.
[37] See Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 208; and Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire*, 62-63.
[38] Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire*, 61.

During these years, free-colored tribute was included in Indian tribute in summaries of the accounts of the Royal Treasury. Data from the a similar period make clear that free-colored tribute did not reach the level of Indian tributes at any time in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth centuries. In 1794, 37,328.5 free-colored whole tributaries represented a little more than 7 percent of a total of 516,620.5 free-colored and Indian tributaries.[39] Between 1768 and 1777, payments from free-coloreds had rarely exceeded 5 percent of total tributes.[40] In 1805, royal tributes paid by free-coloreds amounted to only 19 percent of what Indians paid for the same tax.[41] Royal tribute from free-coloreds received attention because it was levied on a population that was expanding and believed to possess wealth. Furthermore, long-standing relationships between tribute and vassalage, class and labor, and *calidad* and subjecthood imbued the tax with meanings beyond its monetary worth to the regime.

Tributary Vassals, Colonial Labor, and Imperial Knowledge

The notion that vast numbers of tributary bodies had yet to be drawn into the colonial regime had long motivated and troubled Habsburg monarchs. Bourbon rulers made it a point to extend their control beyond the reaches of the previous governments and sent their commissioners into uncharted tributary territory, either in a physical sense or in terms of new recording devices. Like its predecessors the *relaciones geográficas*, the register was a message to central authorities regarding the nature of local conditions,

[39] AGI, Audiencia de Mexico leg. 1583.
[40] See Table 22 of Chapter 4 of this dissertation, based on AGI, Mexico leg. 2104 and 2105.
[41] AGN, Tributos vol. 43, exp. 9.

social relationships, and profitability. In the late-eighteenth century, new instruments to effectively catalog free-colored communities followed the trajectory of other inquiries into scientific and geographic aspects of Spanish possessions.[42] These processes, in which new forms of cataloguing played an integral role, were transformative for the ways in which the King could know his subjects.

The tribute regime brought together important pieces of information that integrated communities into imperial knowledge bases. When it functioned, free-colored tribute provided a crucial moment of interchange between subjects and Crown agents, one that allowed local officials to locate and control labor. Unable to compel free-coloreds to work as slaves, local authorities created and consulted tribute registers when labor was scarce and laborers difficult to find. Toward this end, Philip II decreed that all free-coloreds live with "*amos conocidos*," masters or labor bosses who were obliged to pay tribute on behalf of their charges. In the event that workers ran out on their *amos*, these tributaries were to be captured, jailed, and then returned, a practice reminiscent of the treatment of runaway slaves. Though this additional stipulation that free-coloreds be barred from moving proved unenforceable, the king also called for the implementation of a "*padrón* of all of them [the free-coloreds], with their names and people with whom they live."[43] The *padrón* or *matrícula* was a list of names of people and their families, as well as, ideally, their places of work.[44] In the early colonial period, the *padrón* traced free-

[42] Paula de Vos, "The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary: Natural History and the Collection of Curiosities in the Spanish Empire" in Daniela Bleichmar, ed., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 288.
[43] Libro VII, Título V, Ley III, *Recopilación*.
[44] Though these two terms had different definitions, they were often used interchangeably and both derive from the same Latin roots *syllabus* and *catalogus*. "Tribute register" will serve as a translation for both "*padrón*" and "*matrícula*."

colored workers back to the locations of their masters, meaning the Crown had legal recourse to hold someone accountable in the event of free-colored resistance to payment.

This system was immediately put to the test a year later when free *mulatos* Luis, Anton, Pedro, and Juan, a *negro*, fled the Mexico City residence where they labored for a hatter called Cristóbal Rodríguez. At the time, the constable (*alguacil*) had already registered the four Afromexicans on a *padrón* that included the parish of Santa Catarina near the city center, designated in 1568 as an exclusively Spanish, free-colored, and *mestizo* parish.[45] As an *amo*, Cristóbal Rodríguez provided a stable site of collection. The act of registering the hatter and the workers entwined them all in the obligations of free-colored labor and taxation to the Habsburg state. But, according to Rodríguez and two Indian hatters called as witnesses, Luis, Anton and Pedro were long gone, and Juan was dead. Because these men "left my house and service," Rodríguez argued, "I should not make the payment for them."[46] Rodríguez himself was probably a man of modest means, and, during the months he spent in charge of four free-coloreds, he could well have incurred more tributary debt to the Crown than income from their labor. The judges (*oidores*) in the high court of Mexico (*audiencia*) did not sympathize, and, in February 1579, they determined that Rodríguez should pay what Luis, Anton, and Pedro all owed. This case points to two enduring problems in tribute collection that peppered complaints and decrees for centuries. First, free-colored tribute registers required frequent reassessment in urban areas, where unmarried men labored in a variety of trades and

[45] Juan Javier Pescador, *De bautizados a fieles difuntos: Familia y mentalidades en una parroquia urbana, Santa Catarina de México, 1568-1820* (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano, 1992), 20.
[46] AGN, Tierras vol. 2810, exp. 1, f. 2.

might move from place to place without warning. Second, officials in the Royal Treasury depended on business and property owners to make tribute payments on behalf of free-coloreds. In this early case in Mexico City, Cristóbal Rodríguez experienced the power of the Treasury to extract payment. In other cases, such as that of San Luis Potosí examined in Chapter 1, colonial authorities and local elites negotiated or ignored similar demands.

Tribute as a means toward increasing labor among free-coloreds resonated with the Habsburg regime, yet controlling this workforce proved difficult throughout the Americas. In the mid-seventeenth century, jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereira (1565-1655) wrote that tribute in specie and labor from Afroperuvians had been "put into practice in some provinces, though with a small yield. As for putting them [free Afroperuvians] in the mines and to other services, I have not seen it practiced anywhere."[47] In 1676, officials of the treasury in Guadalajara, in New Galicia, wrote that collecting this tax was "of little use" owing to the "impoverished (*miserable*) state of those people."[48] Representatives of the Royal Treasury only managed to charge twelve free-colored people, since these migratory mining workers and rural laborers had no long-term place of residence in the city. The "impossibility" of charging tribute did not change the fact that tributaries existed and the Crown had a legal right to levy the tax.[49]

[47] Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, *Politica Indiana*, libro II (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1648), 248.
[48] AGI, Contaduría, 875, no. 3, f 6v.
[49] A 1674 decree signed by Queen Regent Mariana of Austria called for the continued "registration which has been done of the free *mulatos* and *negros* so that they pay tribute" in Guadalajara. See Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), 613.

Across large swaths of Spanish America, free-colored tribute was either enforced sporadically or not at all. Royal decrees of the seventeenth century suggest that free-coloreds in South and Central America paid tribute, though in small amounts and with little reliability. In the Caribbean islands, no examples of free-colored tribute have yet been found, but in the circum-Caribbean large free-colored populations attracted attention from Habsburg bureaucrats and rulers. One historian has found evidence that free-colored tribute was already present in areas of Guatemala by the mid-seventeenth century, where receipts show payments from free-colored residents, property owners who paid on behalf of their employees, and possibly even a slave.[50] Further south, tribute had already become a bargaining chip for free blacks and former maroons in Panama by the end of the sixteenth century.[51] New Granada also implemented the tax in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[52] Despite being home to a large black population, free-colored tribute in Peru was inefficient when implemented at all.[53] In Alto Peru, free-colored tribute was recorded between 1619 and 1635.[54] As far afield as Chile, in 1703 the "free *negros* and *mulatos* and the *negras* and *mulatas* and their sons and daughters," were

[50] Paul Lokken, "La recaudación del tributo de laborío y la formación burocrática de identidades sociales en la provincia de Guatemala, 1608-1644," *Boletín de la Asociación para el Fomento de los Estudios Históricos en Centroamérica* 51 (2011): 17-18.
[51] AGI, Audiencia de Panamá 237, leg. 11, f 47-47v.
[52] See Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Colonia, Tributos, t. 8, fs. 657-684, "Nicolás de Munar, arrendador de tributos de indios, mulatos, negros y zambos de Santafé hace una petición para poder apremiarlos por la tributación" (1756). See also, Katherine Bonil Gómez, *Gobierno y calidad en el orden colonial: las categorías del mestizaje en la provincia de Mariquita en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Primera edición* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2011).
[53] See Ronaldo Escobedo Mancilla, "El tributo de los zambaigos, negros y mulatos en el virreinato peruano," *Revista de Indias* 41, no. 163 (1981): 43-54.
[54] Herbert S. Klein and John J. TePaske, "Arica" and "Potosí" in *Las cartas cuentas de la Real Hacienda de la América española, siglo XVI a principios del siglo XIX* [CD-ROM] (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 2004).

required to pay.[55] They did pay small sums to the *caja* in Santiago de Chile between 1695 and 1706.[56] By the mid-eighteenth century, bureaucrats in Quito had considered extending tribute, though the decision was made not to enforce the tax.[57] In the 1770s, tribute inspired violent resistance among Afroperuvian militiamen, who rejected tribute on the grounds that it demeaned their status.[58] Bourbon reformers were forced to abandon the tax in Nicaragua in 1788 because of resistance as well.[59]

Only the Kingdom of New Spain possessed the necessary combination of administrative institutions, legal tradition of free-colored taxation, and a large, free-colored tax base that would yield reliable tribute revenue in the late-eighteenth century. At the time, in all of mainland Spanish America there were 650,000 free people of African descent;[60] perhaps half of them resided in what is now Mexico. For every slave who lived in New Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, there were at least thirty free-coloreds. The Afroperuvian population, in contrast, was made up of 40,000 slaves and 41,000 free-coloreds.[61] In many regions of mainland Spanish America, free-coloreds outnumbered slaves by the eighteenth century.[62] New Spain had experienced a decline in slavery since 1640, though enslaved labor remained important in certain

[55] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 86.
[56] Klein and TePaske, "Santiago de Chile" in *Las cartas cuentas*.
[57] Luis Ramos Gómez and Carmen Ruigómez Gómez, "Una Propuesta a La Corona Para Extender La Mita y El Tributo a Negros, Mestizos y Mulatos (Ecuador, 1735-1748)" *Revista Complutense De Historia De América* 25 (1999): 109.
[58] Leon G. Campbell, "Black Power in Colonial Peru: The 1779 Tax Rebellion of Lambayeque," *Phylon* 33, no. 2 (1972): 145.
[59] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos,* vol. 2, pt. 2, 628-31.
[60] Klein and Vinson, *African Slavery,* 274 (Table 2).
[61] Klein and Vinson, *African Slavery*, 197.
[62] Klein and Vinson, *African Slavery*, 196-197.

industries well into the eighteenth century.[63] The replacement of slavery with free labor led to a growing population of free-colored subjects required to pay royal tributes. In New Spain, this population had been growing for centuries by the time of the resurgence of tribute and taxation in the late-eighteenth century.

The Viceroyalty of New Spain was a patchwork of local taxation practices and varied demographic landscapes. In the first half of the eighteenth century, tributes dropped from their late-Habsburg levels, in part due to regional episodes of disease and famine.[64] While some areas suffered disasters, other wealthy regions registered population shifts in favor of free-coloreds. In Guanajuato, where tribute was highly infrequent and contested, free-coloreds provided a vital labor source in mining. What is more, they represented more than two-thirds of the population by the 1750s.[65] To the far north, the mines at Rosario also had a majority-*mulato* tributary population in the same decade.[66] Registering and profiting from these robust populations, which had ready access to cash through their integration into local markets, was one of many tasks facing the Royal Treasury in Mexico City.

It is worth emphasizing here that the tribute register, by definition, did not describe the entire free-colored population. A *padrón* was the "list that is made in cities, villages, or other place in order to know by name the number of contributing residents

---

[63] Frank Proctor, "Afro-Mexican Slave Labor in the Obrajes de Paños of New Spain, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The Americas* 60, no. 1 (2003): 35.
[64] América Molina del Villar, "Tributos y calamidades en el centro de la Nueva España, 1727-1762. Los límites del impuesto justo," *Historia Mexicana* 54, no. 1 (2004): 28-29.
[65] John Tutino, *Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 175-179 and 529 (Appendix C).
[66] Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 272.

(*vecinos*) for tributes and royal taxes (*pechos reales*)."[67] In a similar vein, a *matrícula* was a "list or catalog of the names of people who are chosen and recognized toward a determined purpose."[68] Unlike a general census, such as those drawn up in the last decade of the eighteenth century, a tribute register included only the details relevant to tribute collection and the identification of future tributaries.

Collection itself usually happened between once and three times a year, and, by the late eighteenth century, it was documented separately. In general, registers did not contain a record of monies collected. Rather they were an approximation of the potential for collection. By 1791, monies collected in the depositories called *reales cajas* were recorded in separate books from the registers of tributaries.[69] Like other aspects of public administration, tribute continued to use the medieval Iberian system of "*cargo y data*" which specified the amounts of money each official collected and remitted, the number of tributaries, and the jurisdiction.[70] The physical and bureaucratic separation between the amounts collected and the possibilities for collection, symbolized in the register, drove reformers to imagine elaborate schemes of charging, and defining tributaries to increase payments. By instituting new methods of categorizing and counting, reformers argued that not only would tribute become more profitable, it would become more rational.

The last four decades of the eighteenth century saw intensifying reforms in Spain and its empire, particularly in public finance. Some of the political, military, and fiscal

---

[67] Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1780), 675.
[68] Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 611.
[69] Luis Jáuregui, *La Real Hacienda de Nueva España: Su administración en la época de los intendentes, 1786-1821* (México, DF: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1999), 140-144.
[70] Esteban Hernádez Esteve, "Reflexiones sobre la naturaleza y los orígenes de la contabilidad por partida doble," *Pecvnia* 1 (2005): 93-124.

changes enacted during the eighteenth century stemmed from the ideological currents of Enlightenment thought throughout in southern Europe and overseas possessions, whose demands and political orientations influenced policy changes.[71] These innovations and renovations intensified under Charles III and Charles IV and are collectively known as the Bourbon Reforms. How effective these reforms were for centralizing power and extracting colonial resources has been a matter of debate among historians of Spain and Spanish America for decades. Classic works like David Brading's *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* privileged the far-reaching effects of fiscal and military expansion; more recently, Bourbon attempts to change "the basic relationship between the governors and the governed" have been the subject of regional studies.[72] Institutions central to black life and employment—the free-colored militias, the Catholic Church, and the royal tobacco monopoly, among others— changed profoundly in this period in ways that affected free-coloreds both positively and negatively.[73]

Though unreceptive to many Bourbon reform projects, tribute was not totally intractable. In the case of Indian tribute, one historian has argued that, "it was very difficult to put tributary reforms into practice and simplify the tangled and fossilized

---

[71] Gabriel B. Paquette, "Introduction: Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830* ed. Gabriel B. Paquette (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 9.

[72] See D.A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants In Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). and Peter F. Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 92.

[73] For these institutional transformations, see Ben Vinson, III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001); Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in México, 1749-1857* (Durham: Duke University Press: 2010); and Susan Deans-Smith *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers. The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

system."[74] This dissertation will argue that the nature and implementation of tributary reform indicated Bourbon attitudes toward free-colored reproduction, genealogy, and family. Enlightenment ideas, mixed with older concepts like blood purity, underpinned a series of reforms, legal decisions, and bureaucratic practices that show how the colonial regime identified and categorized free-coloreds. As tribute reforms gained momentum through the introduction of new instruments and procedures, officials and tributaries perceived the increasing centralization and standardization of the regime. This standardization facilitated the collection and transmission of data as well as revenue.

The success of tribute lay not only in its ability to collect specie, which was variable among Indians and free-coloreds alike, but also in its use in data collection. The reigns of Philip V and Ferdinand VI had already paved the way for the development of methods of population registration, which gave monarchs greater access to their subjects.[75] The Ordinance of Intendants, promulgated in New Spain in 1786, reorganized colonial administration, limiting the powers of the viceroy and creating new units of territorial division. Under the direction of Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes, Second Count of Revillagigedo (1740-1799), the "Ordinance for the Formation of Visitations, Censuses, and Rates of Tributaries of New Spain" (1793) aimed to further reform and standardize the process of collecting tribute from, and allowing exemptions for, Indians

[74] Daniela Marino, "El afán de recaudar y la dificultad de reformar: El tributo indígena en la Nueva España tardocolonial," in *De colonia a nación: Impuestos y política en México, 1750-1860*, ed. Carlos Marichal and Daniela Marino (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2001), 62.

[75] The *matrícula de mar* in 1726 registered coastal communities with the goal of expanding the Spanish Navy. See Christopher Storrs, "Felipe V: Caesura or Continuity?" in *Early Bourbon Spanish America,* ed. Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso and Ainara Vázquez Varela (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 12-13. For a project under Ferdinand VI, see Concepción Camarero Bullón, "Averiguarlo todo de todos: el catastro de Ensenada" *Estudios Geográficos,* 63, no. 248-249 (2002): 493-531.

and free-coloreds.[76] These ordinances envisioned tribute as a method of data collection, a symbol of integration of local populations into the Spanish Empire, and as a means of imperial finance. As it stretched the limits of colonial data management, tribute became one of the many "intellectual laboratories" of administration in the Atlantic World.[77]

The Ordinance of Intendants and the Ordinance for the Formation of Visitations were targeted reforms that also standardized legal procedures and vocabularies for dealing with tribute complaints. Litigants and petitioners of all castes pursued exemption through legal means, from the 1570s to the turn of the nineteenth century. Before 1786, cases were settled in local courts or at a tribunal devoted to tribute cases, overseen by the viceroy.[78] Under the Ordinance of Intendants, commissioners were unable to change the tribute registers once they were completed; the authority to approve, redact, and archive lists rested with the *Contaduría General de Retasas* in the capital. Therefore, though tributary identities depended on local reputations, the power to alter them in writing rested exclusively with bureaucrats in the capital.

These same bureaucrats, however, did not always agree on the nature of tributary status. The lively debates between lawmakers regarding the privileges and obligations of a tributary class at the turn of the nineteenth century offer new insight into black colonial subjecthood, specifically as it was understood by bureaucrats. The historical record preserves a few particularly vociferous advocates of phenotypic "signs" or "aspect," a

[76] AGN, Tributos vol. 60 exp. 9.
[77] Madeira Santos, "Administrative knowledge," 539.
[78] José Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *El Virreinato: Orígenes y jurisdicciones, y dinámica social de los virreyes*, vol. 1, 2d. ed. (México, D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de México, 1983), 78.

physiognomic term that originated long before the caste system.[79] Other accountants and bureaucrats favored arguments about genealogy, and did not give opinions on the possible impact of physical features on tributary status. The internal debate of the tribute regime provides an example of an institution torn between a social order based on documented genealogies and one that was determined visually and subject to individual interpretation.

The labels plebeians chose in legal documents allow historians glimpses of ordinary people's understandings and perceptions of self and others.[80] Free-colored tributaries in New Spain employed a language of *calidad* within the tribute regime that was not explicitly linked to physical features. In contrast to parts of the circum-Caribbean where petitioners predicated their privilege on the color of their skin,[81] the language of color and aspect were unpopular among tribute complainants. In the eighteenth century, magistrates in Mexico City heard hundreds of arguments for exemption based on complex articulations of genealogy under the rubric of *calidad*. With the exception of members of the free-colored militias, individuals and families did not use color, phenotype, or appearance as indicators of their tributary status. The preference for genealogical arguments and reputational reasoning demonstrated the enduring importance of family histories, lineage, and marriage as determinants of free-colored identity.

---

[79] Joanne Rappaport, "'Asi Lo Paresçe Por Su Aspeto': Physiognomy and the Construction of Difference in Colonial Bogotá," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (2011): 612.
[80] Karen B. Graubart, "The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560-1640," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (2009): 474.
[81] Ann Twinam, "Purchasing Whiteness: Conversation on the Essence of Pardo-ness and Mulatto-ness at the End of Empire," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara (Duke University Press, 2009), 141-166.

For ordinary people, becoming a tributary could represent a burdensome financial obligation or a meaningful stake in community, depending on geography and occupation. In cities, tributaries were likely to be artisans, apprentices, or part of the working poor, for whom tribute was a great imposition.[82] Miners fared better, because they were often exempt from tribute or had easy access to specie, yet their work was as low-paying as their counterparts in cities and rural agricultural regions.[83] Among the tributary free-colored families examined in this dissertation, farmers outnumbered members of all other occupations.[84] In the late-eighteenth century, the intensification of registration and collection paralleled that of market-oriented agriculture.[85] The meanings of tribute derived from local relationships and land ownership in rural areas, where paying tribute was a way of putting down roots in a peasant community.[86]

For all subjects of the Spanish Crown, taxation was intertwined with origins and loyalty. When free-coloreds engaged with the tributary regime in New Spain, they became part of a community of taxpayers defined by their *calidad*, which could also indicate their loyalty. From the earliest implementation of royal tribute in New Spain,

---

[82] See Ben Vinson III, "From Dawn 'till Dusk: Black Labor in Late Colonial Mexico," in *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, ed. Ben Vinson, III, and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 117; and Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers*, 192-195.

[83] Silvio Zavala, *El servicio personal de los indios en la Nueva España*, tomo VII (México, DF: Colegio de México, 1984), 266.

[84] The sample is taken from eighteen regions and is described further in Chapters 3 and 4. Of the 7,545 records in the sample, 1,953 specified a form of livelihood such as guild membership, farming, or trade. About one-fifth of all those employed were farmers.

[85] Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 249.

[86] Deborah E. Kanter, *Hijos del Pueblo: Gender, Family, and Community in Rural Mexico, 1730-1850* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 35.

this tax cemented the privileges and obligations of Crown and vassal.[87] Community land and legal rights accompanied Indians' obligation to pay tribute, a reciprocal relationship that deteriorated following the *Cortes de Cádiz*.[88] Though free-coloreds did not receive communal property or fiscal benefits in exchange for their tributary status, free-coloreds were still expected to demonstrate their status as loyal vassals by cooperating with payment and registration.

For some families tribute was a brief moment of contact with the state and its agents; for others, public humiliation and dishonor. Tribute disputes provided an arena in which ordinary people voiced their interpretations of their own tributary obligations. Within these cases, bureaucrats and ordinary people made connections between tribute and belonging, reputation, and genealogy. Although paying tribute supposedly symbolized the faithful loyalty of Indian or free-colored vassals, people of Spanish descent disputed tributary status based on the past loyalty of their ancestors. One such individual claimed in 1804 that not only was paying tribute detrimental to him financially, the comparison to Indians "[broke] the privileges acquired by his ancestors with their virtue, their valor, and their blood spilled or their King."[89] Intricate cases appeared in local courts and even as far as Seville on behalf of residents who refused to be counted as tributaries. For these families, tribute was a grave insult to their lineage and social standing, and they would not stand by while their names were neatly inscribed between the columns of the new registers.

---

[87] José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI*, 2d ed. (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2005), 198-199.
[88] For the Peruvian case, see Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 21-23.
[89] AGN, General de Parte vol. 79, exp. 277, f. 240v.

The late-colonial period proved that tribute was still a process: the system was constantly dedicating itself to extending state power, creating knowledge, and increasing its economic scope. Numbers alone do not convey the nature of tribute in the minds of accountants, magistrates, and taxpayers. Through registration and payment as tributaries, or by contesting their tributary status, free-coloreds "defined their relationship to the metropolis."[90] Tribute exemption symbolized the prestige of the free-colored militias, which, as they accumulated tribute privileges through their military service, defined themselves as both black and non-tributary.[91] Tributary status was tied to black femininity through the production and reproduction of identities, narratives of poverty and privilege, and regional exemptions based on gender. Finally, tributary status was a symbol of freedom from slavery, a complicated construction that allowed the state to continually tax manumission and gave free-coloreds a vocabulary of vassalage and belonging that placed them on similar footing to other subjects.

Documentation and Scope of the Study

This project studies tribute in the Kingdom of New Spain, as well as northern mines, from the transition to Bourbon rule until the abolishment of tribute during Mexico's Wars of Independence. Much of the evidence for local amounts of tribute

[90] Cynthia Milton and Ben Vinson, III, "Counting Heads: Race and Non-Native Tribute Policy in Colonial Spanish America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 3, no. 3 (2002): 6.
[91] See Ben Vinson III and Matthew Restall, "Black Soldiers, Native Soldiers: Meanings of Military Service in the Spanish American Colonies," in *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2005), 15-52; Paul Lokken, "Useful Enemies: Seventeenth-Century Piracy and the Rise of Pardo Militias in Spanish Central America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5, no. 2 (2004); and Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 132-172.

collection derives from the accounts in the *Archivo General de Indias*, from 1768-1800, and builds on the foundational work on the *reales cajas* by John J. TePaske and Herbert S. Klein. From these records, the dissertation provides an analysis of the collection and debts of 150 jurisdictions. It is worth noting that these records were not public and were intended to demonstrate the state of accounts and tax collection for the monarch.[92]

The project then combines these financial data with demographic figures for 1774 and 1807 from populations recorded on lists (*padrones* or *matríulas*). These documents range from a few dozen to thousands of people, depending on the population of the area and the unit of geography, such as a jurisdiction, city, or royal mine. The tribute registers cover diverse geographies, including silver and salt mining zones, as well as nearby agricultural areas; communities surrounding the ports at Acapulco and Veracruz; and trading hubs like Celaya, Puebla and Mexico City.

The final corpus of evidence from the late eighteenth century is the exemption cases. This dissertation samples qualitative data from a set of 95 petitions, civil suits, and criminal cases requesting nontributary status between 1576 and 1809. These documents include only requests for exemption made by people who were, or were accused of being, free-colored. The relatively small sample does not provide sufficient evidence for a thorough analysis of the success rate of such cases. Concentrated between roughly 1785 and 1810, they usually involved petitioners from in and around the Valley of Mexico. As qualitative sources, these documents are richly detailed and often creatively argued. The

[92] Herbert S. Klein, *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680-1809* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 4.

information contained in these cases speaks to the beliefs ordinary people, bureaucrats, local officials, and lawyers held about blackness and its relationship to genealogy.

The first half of the eighteenth century does not provide the scope of numerical data for tribute available for the period post-1760. The quantitative evidence available is, for the most part, bound up with specific local questions. Case studies from San Luis Potosí and Acatlán and Piastla illuminate the problems and successes of collection and registration in the center of the Kingdom of New Spain and at the near-northern frontier. Three intriguing pre-1750 exemption petitions have been selected. The first comes from a town in the Valley of Mexico, Huisquiluca, on behalf of a free *mulato* whose insistence that he was descended from a conquistador took his case to the Council of the Indies. In the first years of the century, the case put forward a provocative argument for the transference of Spanish privilege without Spanish *calidad*. The second chapter compares this case with a similar narrative of service and familial distinction from a case in the 1740s, this time from Lerma nine leagues from the capital. Last, the documents address the unique quandaries facing Bourbon bureaucrats when they dealt with female petitioners. In the 1720s, two sisters living near Toluca claimed they were unable to pay tribute because of their age and lack of financial support. As is true for the later period, the cases predominately draw from the center of the Kingdom of New Spain.

Calidad in the Historiography of Colonial Mexico

The eighteenth-century tribute system built upon standing vocabularies of caste and *calidad* and incorporated Bourbon ideas about the qualities of being poor or wealthy, Spanish or *casta*.[93] By subsuming labels of caste and *calidad*, tributary status became a hybrid of characteristics from many social and legal categories, much like *calidad* itself. C*alidad* could combine with categories of caste (*calidad de mulato*), labor and class (*calidad de maestro*), and tribute (*calidad de tributario*). In disputes of tributary status, the word also designated official capacities (*calidad de juez*) or temporality (*calidad de por ahora*). Ben Vinson, III, has recently acknowledged the interchangeability between caste, *calidad*, class, condition, and even markers of ethnicity.[94] Yet, prominent studies of Afromexico published in the last ten years have discussed caste rather than *calidad*. These concepts were mutually influential, but not synonymous. The prominence of *calidad* specifically in tribute documents points to the growing importance of economic status vis-à-vis caste in the eighteenth century.[95]

Robert McCaa provides the most widely accepted definition of *calidad* as "an inclusive impression reflecting one's reputation as a whole." *Calidad* was often "expressed in racial terms (e.g. indio, mestizo, español)" and influenced by "color,

---

[93] Tribute registers in New Spain and Peru contain what María Elena Martínez, contends are the most common caste names (Indian, Spanish, black, *mestizo*, *mulato*, *castizo*, *morisco*, *zambaigo*) as well as *lobo*, *coyote*, *pardo*, *moreno*, and *chino* for eighteenth century. See Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 166.
[94] Ben Vinson, III, "Facetas del concepto de castas: Observaciones sobre la interpretación y el significado de "*casta*" en la Nueva España," in *Vicisitudes Negro Africanas en Iberoamerica: Experiencias de Investigación*, Juan Manuel de la Serna, ed., (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2012), 360-361.
[95] María Elena Martínez, "The Language, Genealogy, and Classification of 'Race' in Colonial Mexico" in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, ed. Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 37.

occupation, and wealth…purity of blood, honor, integrity, and even place of origin."[96] Nearly two decades after McCaa's study, Ben Vinson, III, described *calidad* as "a direct reference to the combined biological, reputational, and occupational classification of a person" which may have grown out of both class and caste.[97] Magali Carrera further theorizes *calidad* based on the "social body," often judged in colonial documents as one's "person, judgment, and circumstances."[98] Joan Bristol addressed the influence of African ritual practice and religiosity on *calidad*, showing the importance of this marker in the seventeenth century.[99] Though one's reputation was influenced by gendered honor, Bristol has also suggested that *calidad* and gender were not always connected.[100] Recently, Max S. Hering Torres has pointed to both the heritable and performative aspects of *calidad*.[101]

This dissertation examines the overlapping processes of taxation, legal and political participation, and community wrapped up in *calidad*. Having a "tributary quality" and a "*mulato* quality" were often interchangeable by the end of the eighteenth century within tribute. The political aspects of *calidad* also emerge through its connections to tributary status: submitting to tribute indicated political loyalty and integration into empire. Culturally, tributary "qualities" also symbolized the ubiquitous

---

[96] McCaa, "Calidad, Clase and Marriage," 477-478.
[97] Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 4.
[98] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 5.
[99] Joan Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 26.
[100] Joan Bristol, "Patriarchs, Petitions, and Prayers: Intersections of Gender and *Calidad* in Colonial Mexico" in *Women, Religion & the Atlantic World, 1600-1800,* ed. Daniella Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 199.
[101] Max S. Hering Torres, "Purity of Blood: Problems of Interpretation" in *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* ed. María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg, and Max-Sebastián Hering Torres (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2012), 27.

symbolic and real obligations between lord and vassal, parent and child in colonial societies. The qualities of a tributary were therefore those of a person under the care of a powerful figure, whether that was an *amo* (master or labor boss) or the Spanish Crown, unable to make decisions independently of a superior.

Tribute and Afromexican History: *Padrones* and New Perspectives on Family Life

The backbone of this dissertation is a group of documents called "*padrones*," or tribute registers. These lists, including the *padrón de tributarios* (tribute register), *padrón militar* (military census), and *padrón general* (population census), and their summaries have been used to study free-colored populations in a variety of contexts. Groundbreaking studies of demography and geography by Sherwin F. Cook and Woodrow W. Borah, as well as Peter Gerhard, used tribute summaries destined for Mexico City or Seville to describe the distribution and size of free Afromexican populations. Summaries have also proved useful in recent region-specific work as well.[102] Absent from summaries are the commissioner's interpretations of social networks, his observations about community, and marginalia noting disputes of identity. Free-colored tributary registers from specific jurisdictions offer especially rich detail for

[102] For one example, see Andrew Fisher, "Negotiating Two Worlds: The Free-*Black* Experience in Guerrero's Tierra Caliente," in *Black Mexico : Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times,* ed. Ben Vinson, III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 51-71.

microhistories,[103] yet fewer scholars have used these data to investigate the nature of tributary status and community, rather than to describe populations.

The difficulties that arise from using tribute registers and summaries to examine general demographic characteristics are many. Unlike a general census, such as those drawn up in the last decade of the eighteenth century, a tribute *padrón* included limited details relevant to tribute collection and the identification of future tributaries. The 1790 population census for Mexico City, for example, contained details often absent from free-colored tribute registers, such as numbers of female servants or descriptions of family property. While tribute registers did count family units, these documents privileged taxable tributaries, leaving more detailed descriptions to the population censuses. By omitting poorer and itinerant families, and in many cases women, tribute records indicate which people were directly integrated into the colonial regime and local economies at certain moments.

Given the purpose of these documents, this dissertation can explore the attitudes of the Bourbon state toward the family as a productive and reproductive unit. By remaining in dialog with other studies of black women and their economic lives, the project uses a new documentary base to interrogate the definitions of womanhood and productivity at the end of the eighteenth century.[104] Tribute registers demonstrate

---

[103] See José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Padrón de negros en Colima de la Nueva España (siglo XVI)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007); and *Negros y mulatos en Colima de la Nueva España (siglo XVI)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007). Outside of Mexico, see Silvia G Álvarez and Cecilia Mejía de Rubira, *Parentesco, política y prestigio social en los pueblos de indios del partido de Santa Elena: Padrón de 1803* (Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 2011).
[104] This dissertation builds on María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez, *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional De Antropología e Historia, 2006); and Danielle Terrazas, "Capitalizing Subjects: Free African-Descended Women of Means in Xalapa, Veracruz during the Long Seventeenth Century" (Duke, PhD diss., 2012).

unstable and changing attitudes toward women's work. Sylvia Arrom has argued that the utility of women as workers enjoyed growing popularity in late-Bourbon ideologies of labor and gender. Yet, of the more than 380,000 free-colored individuals registered in 1805, less than 1 percent was made up of unmarried women.[105] Although scholars have convincingly shown that women in Mexico City were employed and maintained independent residences, only 26,854 unmarried women appear on the 1805 summaries.[106] This bias can be traced to the legal uncertainties surrounding women's tributary status as well as a commissioner's interpretation of the female-headed household's ability to pay. Although free-colored registers did not specifically list female occupations, they refer to women as property owners or renters. These data contribute to two interconnected literatures: property ownership among women, and the perceptions of gender harbored by tax collectors across the Americas.[107]

Tributary status, like caste and *calidad*, was maintained or broken through marital, familial, and reproductive connections. The registers from this study show high levels of free-colored tributary endogamy, though exogamy did occur frequently in specific regions, like the Bajío. What is clear from my study is that thousands of free-colored tributary couples married within their caste. Some tribute records lend support to Robert McCaa's idea of "racial drift," as the *calidad* of the marital partners influenced one and other to create higher rates of marriage endogamy.[108] High rates of endogamy

[105] AGN, Tributos vol 43, exp 9.
[106] See Silvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 158-159.
[107] My study confirms the links between gender, occupation, and taxation made in Karin A. Wulf's *Not all Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
[108] McCaa, "Calidad, Clase and Marriage," 498.

may also indicate a commissioner preference for identifying whole tributaries, which were more lucrative and recognizable as free-colored. Endogamy rates on registers were refracted through commissioner motivations and biases, which may have exaggerated the rate of endogamous marriage in the general population.

Although marriage records have done much for the study of free and enslaved blacks in the Americas, new source material on free-colored family is a welcome addition. As one scholar has observed, "At best, what we have now is a shadow of the reality of black domesticity that slave trade demographics and black marriage patterns reveal."[109] These documents show the many links between free-coloreds by blood, marriage, labor, and adoption which were relevant for their tributary status. The Royal Treasury was tracking free-colored families based on certain ideas about blackness, as evidenced in the discussions surrounding the formation of registers, as well as within the registers themselves. Taking apart the register, the dissertation identifies how and when local commissioners and bureaucrats in Mexico City characterized free-colored family cohesion as a tributary characteristic. At some points, families appear to be static and dominated by the patriarch's name, other members less important for the register. Other registers, however, contain the names and ages of children, family residences, and even town of origin of spouses. These details create a dynamic portrait of tributary family, one that tracked the unions of free-colored couples and the growth of future tributaries.

[109] Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 144.

Chapter Descriptions

Chapter 1 uses legal cases, tribute registers, and official correspondence to trace the connections between tribute, loyalty, and *calidad* in the early eighteenth century. The chapter argues that viceregal bureaucrats could not impose *calidad* or free-colored tribute without the cooperation of local officials, elites, and ordinary people. The early-Bourbon free-colored tribute regime required local officials and property owners to share any knowledge they held about free-colored livelihoods with viceregal authorities. In the near-North, local officials and viceregal bureaucrats defined tributary status as a representation of blackness, loyalty and *calidad* at the beginning of Bourbon rule. The chapter uses a case study from the mining region of San Luis Potosí to demonstrate how discussions about tribute on what was, for bureaucrats in Mexico City, a frontier became early-Bourbon sites for linking *calidad* and loyalty.

Chapter 2 describes processes of registration and collection to understand local, viceregal, and imperial relationships that developed within the tributary regime. The chapter argues that, in early-Bourbon central New Spain, ordinary people and bureaucrats had divergent ideas about tributary identity and its implications for *calidad*. For petitioners between 1715 and 1767, tributary status was linked to gendered honor, an element of *calidad*, but not necessarily to blackness. The chapter contrasts these petitions with a series of tribute registers from a central mining community in which *calidad* and caste were the primary determinants of tributary status. These records of registration and payments from 1739-1743 demonstrate the efficacy of *calidad* for registration of the

same individuals multiple times. All the documents in this chapter presuppose free-colored identity; tributary status was one of many features that affected this community and was not inextricably linked to blackness.

Chapter 3 argues that free-colored tribute officials focused on the familial and social connections between free-coloreds to establish a community of tributaries. Following the *visita general* of José de Gálvez (1765-1772), free-colored tribute expanded rapidly with the implementation of the intendancy system. Chapters 3 examines practices of recordkeeping on free-colored tribute registers between 1774 and 1805, as Bourbon officials in Mexico revised and expanded tributary categories. Drawing on more than 7,500 records of free-colored tributary individuals and families from across colonial Mexico, the chapter identifies the characteristics that defined the free-colored tributary after the Bourbon Reforms. The tribute institution existed within a colonial regime which clung to stereotypes of free Afromexicans as itinerants lacking family ties, but many tribute registers contradicted these prevalent conceptions. The typical tributary family was made up of married free-colored couples with children, and maintained social and genealogical ties within their communities.

Chapter 4 evaluates the efficacy of free-colored tribute as a method of gathering information and revenue. The padrones show what high-ranking officials in the capital knew (or wanted to know) about free-colored family life across geography, occupation, and gender. Tribute collection and registration rose dramatically in a few jurisdictions where free-colored populations were substantial. Using collection figures from 1768 to 1788, the chapter shows that free-colored payments did fluctuate at the local level as a

result of new methods of collection and registration. By 1805, Bourbon officials had described the potential to extract large amounts tribute from the free-colored population. The expansion of registers in the late-eighteenth century, intended ultimately to expand coffers, also greatly increased viceregal knowledge of free-colored subjects. The chapter uses the demographic data to sketch portraits of free-colored populations in a variety of geographical areas, expanding current scholarly understandings of rural free-colored life, unmarried women, and adoption of children. The demographic and fiscal gains from tribute were not equal, but both benefited a Bourbon project of knowledge construction and economic prosperity.

Bourbon interest in free-colored family as an object of royal taxation demonstrated a continuing preoccupation with black lineage, as well as the desire to contain and define free-colored social relationships within bureaucratic structures. Chapter 5 draws on more than fifty exemption cases from individuals, families, and corporate bodies (towns and militia units). In these cases, the coexistence of the terms "tributary class," "tributary caste," and "tributary quality" show Bourbon attitudes regarding labor, appearance, and genealogy. By far the most important determinant of success in a tribute exemption case was the strength of a family's genealogy, which could be based exclusively on *calidad* or on a public reputation of exemption. Slowly, ideas about heredity and race also emerged in tribute, but they were unattractive to the highest courts. The definition of a free-colored tributary was heavily influenced by centuries-old notions of genealogy and privilege, and newer concepts of *calidad* and economic status. What did not emerge was a racial definition of tributary status.

Chapter 1

Loyalty, Tribute, and *Calidad* on the Near-Northern Frontier

To express their relationships to the tribute regime, ordinary people turned to a marker of status paramount in the eighteenth century: reputation. Classifying tributary subjects on this basis was a complicated issue in the vast territory that comprised New Spain. On May 5, 1710, officials in the thriving mining center of San Luis Potosí received a decision from the judges of the Royal Treasury regarding tribute registration of free-coloreds. "Regarding *calidades*," read the instructions from Mexico City, "they may only be listed for those notoriously [known as] blacks, *mulatos*, or Indians, but not those for whom there is doubt if they are or not."[110] When the judges asked for lists of those with "notorious" *calidad*, the impossibility of charging tribute of anyone who had a "doubtful" *calidad* simultaneously became apparent. Female *calidad* was particularly uncertain, since local officials claimed to have little familiarity with the wives of free-colored men in the jurisdiction.[111] Through this correspondence with local officials, viceregal bureaucrats attempted to assess free-colored tribute more than seventy leagues away. For the Royal Treasury, gathering information about *calidad* was a step toward evaluating the extent of taxation in the near-North and drawing free-coloreds closer to the tributary regime. Local property owners, officials, ecclesiastics, and free-colored subjects responded with their own understandings of free-colored and Indian tribute and *calidad*.

[110] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 261v.
[111] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 261v.

This chapter discusses the rise of *calidad* and its early connections to tributary status. Broadly, the chapter argues that the ability to appeal and negotiate tributary status was vital to the survival of the tribute regime. The chapter discusses the ways in which tribute served a sign of vassalage to the Spanish Crown[112] and permeated discussions of *calidad*. Charging royal tributes was a means, throughout Spanish America, of "regularizing the demands of the 'plunder economy' toward a kind of norm, which could be litigated when participants perceived abuses."[113] A case study of San Luis Potosí demonstrates the steps the Royal Treasury took to enforce a standardized tributary regime across geography, and in the wake of the political upheavals of the early-eighteenth century. At the same time, this case introduces the local concerns about free-colored tribute, labor, and loyalty.[114]

The first part of the chapter analyzes petitions and lawsuits, some of which eventually reached the highest levels of imperial legal and administrative authority. The fact that people often predicated their favorable arrangement of exemption on the past actions of service to the Crown reinforced, rather than dislodged, the vassal relationship between free-coloreds and their ruler. The dispensation of privileges became an expression of royal liberality, a hallmark of the transatlantic political practices of the

[112] José Miranda, *El tributo indígena*, 198-199.
[113] Karen B. Graubart, *With our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 45.
[114] For the purposes of this case study, "loyalty" includes political allegiance as well as a belief in the patriarchal relationship between devoted vassals and their king, whose protection allowed individuals of all castes to live in Spanish society. See Frances L. Ramos, *Identity, Ritual, and Power in Colonial Puebla* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 3; and Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2005), 2.

Spanish monarchy.[115] When potential tributaries accused local officials of falsely registering them, they engaged in lawsuits through the General Indian Court or through the proceedings of the Royal Treasury. Just as access to the courts in Castile promoted loyalty,[116] the implications were similar among free-colored subjects. Both the extension of royal largesse and the provision of a forum for expressing administrative wrongdoing were important valves for discontent within tribute. At the same time, these opportunities for relationships with the crown created vassals willing to engage with tribute as a legitimate institution, though some were unwilling to submit to its categories. Within the tribute regime, individuals and families acquiesced to royal power while adjusting its terms.

The second part of the chapter examines the theme of local allegiances to Mexico City and Madrid using a series of administrative correspondence, tribute registers, and decrees related to San Luis Potosí from the years 1702 to 1716. The silver output from San Luis Potosí and the neighboring region of the Bajío was increasing rapidly to match Chinese demand, and continued to grow during the destructive War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714).[117] In this vibrant and prosperous environment, Bourbon bureaucrats saw potential gains for the Royal Treasury as well as the necessity to control the flow of specie. The war had increased Spanish anxieties about contraband, loyalty, and stability in New Spain in particular.[118] Tribute and *calidad* were slowly converging

---

[115] Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 157.
[116] Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 4.
[117] Tutino, *Making a New World*, 160.
[118] Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 118-119.

on this frontier, as bureaucrats in the capital attempted to harness and understand patterns of migration, expanding commercial activity, and sporadic taxation. The union of tributary status and *calidad* as social markers was hesitant and incomplete; officials in San Luis Potosí could not (or would not) use *calidad* as viceregal bureaucrats instructed. These disputes and discussions about tribute represented a larger process of incorporation of free-coloreds and their communities into the colonial regime. In this way, local elites and ordinary people participated in a process of state formation through their use or rejection of *calidad* and royal tributary status.

Early-Bourbon Terminologies of Difference

The concept of *calidad* translated community reputation into words or phrases that bureaucrats in Mexico City or Madrid could recognize. Though not unique to Bourbon thought,[119] *calidad* as a descriptor of free people of color was inescapable by the eighteenth century. The divisions of society by caste and blood purity were widespread in the seventeenth century, although both categories were subject to local interpretations and the personal evaluations of the beholder.[120] Like these earlier indicators of social difference, *calidad* did not exist outside community. Reputations rested on the opinions of neighbors, the parish priest, and local scribes, and others who

[119] See Bristol, "Patriarchs, Petitions, and Prayers," 180-204; and Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana*, lib. II, cap. XXX (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1648).
[120] Jean-Paul Zúñiga has recently located an example of the confusion surrounding the term "*morisco*" in Guadalajara and Madrid as a religious or a caste category. See "Visible Signs of Belonging: The Spanish Empire and the Rise of Racial Logics in the Early Modern Period," in *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* ed. Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Gaetano Sabatini (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012) 125.

witnessed and participated in the quotidian performance of qualities, the good and the bad. People witnessed everyday indicators of *calidad* in many forms, including phenotype, dress, and language. Religious devotion, in the form of attending church or participating in lay Catholic organizations, also contributed to how people saw *calidad*.[121] This dissertation asserts that tributary status also contributed to *calidad* through public channels, such as gossip or publicly known associations with tributaries. In the courts and on tribute registers, one word could reflect all these nuanced behaviors, social ties, and visible indicators. C*alidad*, though it inspired doubts and confusion, provided a streamlined vocabulary to describe people of Spanish, African, and Indian descent.

Purity of Blood

Widespread by the late-seventeenth century, the language of caste was a staple for tributary classification, forming the foremost indicator of tributary status. Before the notion of caste had fully developed, the genealogical underpinnings of tribute were taking root in the courts and in the popular imagination. The early structure of tribute and its theoretical basis in distinctions of blood and lineage relied on the Iberian precedent of *limpieza de sangre*. The dichotomy between tributary and non-tributary echoed the genealogical distinctions between Old and New Christians. Privileging certain bloodlines above others—those of *españoles*, as Spaniards and their descendants were known, and *mestizos*, the children of Spaniards and Indians—was fundamental to the processes of

[121] Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches*, 26.

differentiation that defined Spanish royal tribute. As early as the sixteenth century, African ancestry became associated with impurity, with few if any limitations on how far back this genealogy could be traced for the purposes of demonstrating proof of *limpieza*.[122] The issue of Indian purity would occupy the Inquisition until Charles II finally reached a decision in the late-seventeenth century granting all Indians a pure status and Indian nobles' legal equality with Spanish *hidalgos*.[123] The preoccupation with blood purity evident in a variety of institutional settings influenced tribute, though genealogies of blood existed alongside genealogies of privilege and reputation as well.

Color and Honor

From the sixteenth century onward, color and honor played their roles in tributary status, sometimes independently of genealogy. The example of *color* provides a point of comparison. In 1582, Juan Portugués, "brown in color (*de color moreno*)" and his children gained tribute exemption. Portugués had served in the conquest of central Mexico; still, because he was *moreno* he was to be charged tribute.[124] He and his family resided near Cuernavaca, an area characterized by African slavery, and local bureaucrats may have associated blackness with servitude and obligation.[125] But Portugués may have known that viceroys had already begun to grant privileges to free-coloreds, in the form of

[122] Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 221.
[123] Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions,* 205.
[124] AGN, Indios vol. 2, exp. 182, f. 47.
[125] Ernest Sánchez Santiró, *Azúcar y poder: Estructura socioeconómica de las alcaldías mayores de Cuernavaca y Cuautla Amilpas, 1730-1821* (México, D.F.: Editorial Praxis, 2001), 38.

arms licenses, based on honor rather than color.[126] As a result of this petition, the local magistrate received an order from Mexico City barring him from charging tribute from Juan Portugués and his family. How exactly Portugués managed to secure the status he desired as a nontributary is not clear from the short resolution. By 1590, however, he had become a property owner described as a "*negro libre*." The properties he possessed, in the form of a ranch and land in Tememilcingo, had previously belonged to none other than don Martín Cortés y Zúñiga, second Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca.[127] By consolidating his nontributary status and wealth—and perhaps by some political maneuvering—Juan Portugués transferred his own status through a lineage of privilege for his children.

The Sistema de Castas

Color never disappeared as a marker of difference; it became a modifier of caste.[128] The rise of the *sistema de castas* was the most influential social development of the seventeenth century for tribute. The caste system was fluid and subjective, often resulting in "discrepancies between racial self-evaluations and observer opinions."[129] As one historian has put it, "in everyday experience casta was not a fixed location within a rigid hierarchy."[130] The idea of *casta* began as a descriptor of good animal breeding,

[126] Robert C. Schwaller, "'For Honor and Defence': Race and the Right to Bear Arms in Early Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 21, no. 2 (2012): 239-266.
[127] AGN, Hospital de Jesús vol. 50, exp. 4.
[128] Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México*, 171.
[129] Aaron P. Althouse, "Contested *Mestizos*, Alleged Mulattos: Racial Identity and Caste Hierarchy in Eighteenth Century Pátzcuaro, Mexico," *The Americas* 62, no. 2 (2005): 152.
[130] O'Toole, *Bound Lives*, 165.

though these associations weakened as elites, armed with terminologies of caste, "identified and rejected racially mixed segments of the population, and began assigning levels of inferiority to certain phenotypes."[131] Interest in the appearance of *castas* on the part of peninsular Spaniards resulted in a genre of painting devoted to the representation of these categories. Viceroy Fernando de Alencastre, Duke of Linares, commissioned the first series of the so-called *casta* paintings around 1711 which depicted the wide variety of colors, habits, and sexual unions found in New Spain.[132] The circulation of these paintings further associated the caste system and its complexities specifically with New Spain and its complex tributary population.

In the early eighteenth century, terms like "*mulato blanco*" and "*mestizo negro*" became compound terminologies that united color and caste. The term "color" continued to appear in tribute documents into the nineteenth century, and the echoes of the caste system remain part of official discourses in present-day Mexico.[133] Regarding the physical manifestations of tributary status, one accountant pointed out that "the climate produces suspicious colors even in the caste of Spaniards."[134] In this way, tribute built new structures of social differentiation by fusing new categories with older ones: caste with *limpieza de sangre*, color with caste, and *calidad* with all of the above.

The Rise of Calidad

[131] Vinson, "Facetas del concepto de *casta*s," 360.
[132] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 69.
[133] Christina A. Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 49-50.
[134] AGN, Tributos 55, exp. 11 f. 318v.

The word "*calidad*" was connected to tributary status in Spain as early as the sixteenth century. Early uses of *calidad* as a term within the tribute regime appear in assessments of the economic capacity of Indian communities. The written records of in-person evaluation (*visita*), population calculation (*cuenta*), and price determination (*tasación*) described the ability of tributary communities to produce tribute in goods or in specie, based on their properties and population size. In 1536, a *real cédula* instructed men designated by the *audiencia* and viceroy to "see the number of *pobladores* and *naturales* of each town, the *calidad* of the land where they live, and inform yourselves regarding what they paid to their *caciques* and other people who ruled over them."[135] In subsequent centuries, using *calidad* as a social category allowed those who evaluated local tribute registers to count numbers of people with less regard for the feasibility of payment. Because Afromexican communities lacked the legal corporate structure of Indian towns, free-coloreds were not evaluated as a group based on their pooled resources. The *calidad* of individuals and families, rather than their goods and properties, determined the rate of tribute.

A foundational group of laws compiled under Gaspar de Zúñiga Acevedo y Fonseca, Fifth Count of Monterrey, used the term to describe the procedures of tribute and the nature of tributaries. These printed instructions sent out from the capital called upon local magistrates to compile lists of free-coloreds of "any *calidad* of the aforementioned and know with whom they live and with what they support themselves."[136] More than a century later, *calidad* had become much more prevalent as a

[135] Miranda, *El tributo indígena*, 319.
[136] AGN, Tributos vol. 33 exp. 13, f. 108.

descriptor of reputation and personhood. The primary entry from the *Diccionario de Autoridades* from 1726 defined "*calidad*" as "The property of the natural body, naturally (except by the Power of Divine Omnipotence) inseparable from substance." For the writers of the definition, the term echoed ideas about Aristotelian philosophy and medieval nobility, but in New Spain it grew into a description of personhood focused on caste and color. Magali Carrera has argued that "the *calidad* of mulatto was not solely associated with darker skin or other physical characteristics; it also aligned a person to certain diagnostics, such as debased social and moral traits."[137] Thus, this "quality" of personhood was only slightly different from caste in its implications for blackness. For tributary status, having certain qualities implied the competing and multifaceted characteristics that created the tributary. One had a tributary quality, but also a free-colored quality. The presence of multiple castes, qualities, and classes within the tribute regime allowed for diverging interpretations of the tax and the status it conferred upon subjects.

Tributary Status and Calidad

As tributary status became part of an increasing number of social markers, potential tributaries began to articulate self-identifications in surprising ways. In 1705, a complex and inventive tribute dispute between a free-colored man and a fiscal from the Royal Treasury stalled in a second round of appeals. Tacuba resident Gabriel Fernandez de Cabrera had offered a proof of his conquistador lineage as the basis for a petition for

[137] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 5.

tribute exemption, though case records identified him as a free *pardo*. Gabriel claimed that he and his brothers and sisters were descendants of "*hidalgos*, gentlemen," who never paid the *pecho*.[138] Gabriel argued that his ancestors were entitled to "enjoy all the honors...and grace and privilege" that the King had "conceded amply to those *pobladores* and discoverers without limitation or restriction of *calidad*."[139] The honor of Gabriel's ancestors outweighed any impurities in the bloodline, since "not even blood mixture could have made them unworthy" of the privileges granted conquistadors.[140]

Non-Spanish ancestry was not, for Gabriel, directly opposed to conquistador lineage, but others did not share his disregard for the centrality of blood. According to fiscal Francisco Blanco del Castillo from the *audiencia* (high court) in Mexico, Gabriel was a *mulato* not only because he had been named as such throughout the length of the case, but because his "appearance evidently qualifies him" as free-colored; therefore, "the reputation which he should have is as *mulato*."[141] The case was reviewed by King Philip V in 1703, and from there passed on to the Council of the Indies for a decision which was either never reached or separated from the rest of the case. The strategies taken speak to the intersections of lineage, blood purity, *calidad*, physiognomy, and privilege within tribute. Neither side denied the importance of genealogy; they simply disagreed on which genealogy would prevail. Gabriel's gendered appeal to honorable lineage asserted that tributary status was unfit for descendants of conquistadors, regardless of black ancestry.

---

[138] AGI, Escribanía, c. 187A, f. 2v.
[139] AGI, Escribanía, c. 187A, f. 2v.
[140] AGI, Escribanía, c. 187A, f. 2v.
[141] AGI, Escribanía, c. 187A, f. 140.

Though *calidad* in this case was heavily dependent upon caste, in 1708 Viceroy Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque, granted tribute privileges to another free-colored family using a different definition of *calidad*. Brothers Luis and Pablo de la Estrella y Mendoza of San Juan del Río lobbied for their temporary tribute relief (*reserva*) on the basis of their valor in the defense against the Indians of the Sierra Gorda, a region whose stability secured nearby mining operations. Their successful petition rested on "the *calidad* of the supplicants," which was determined by their service "as officials to their caste," as well as their "valor and performance."[142] This notion of *calidad* was older and more peninsular. Lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539–1613) understood *calidad* to mean a "person of quality, man of authority, and of good traits."[143] Referring to Luis and Pablo as free *mulatos*, the decision used *calidad* to indicate the high quality of their masculinity and service, which defined these men more than did their caste. As loyal vassals dedicated to maintaining settlements, these free-coloreds distinguished themselves from others of their caste through participation in government and defense.

A common thread throughout these early tribute petitions and complaints is that of participation in establishing Spanish control, especially into territories occupied by hostile Indian groups. As the Spanish Empire increased taxation in New Spain, subjects contested tributary demands using narratives of loyalty and privilege. Free-colored tributaries couched their discussions of color, caste, and *calidad* within a rubric of territorial instability or expansion. C*alidad* itself could be used to justify or detract from

[142] AGN, General de Parte vol. 19 exp. 50, f. 56.
[143] Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Sánchez, 1873), 257.

free-colored privileges at the turn of the eighteenth century. Bureaucrats, officials, and ordinary people used petitions and the courts to discuss what exactly *calidad* meant, how it could be manipulated, and its relationship to tributary status.

Assessing Local *Calidad* and Free-colored Tribute from Mexico City

Early modern rulers used accommodation and enforcement across geographies to build acceptable fiscal relationships with local elites and ordinary people.[144] When metropolitan or viceregal rulers managed to reach an agreement with their administrators and their subjects, taxation could be successful. Authorities maintained a balance (some more successfully than others) between extracting the maximum tax revenue and maintaining local acquiescence. Subjects throughout the Spanish Empire expected to be able to reject taxes they saw as unfair or unlawfully extracted.[145] In the far-reaching Viceroyalty of New Spain, tributary status became complex where powerful rivals challenged the Spanish for economic and political control.[146] Migration and mining prosperity provided increased opportunities for social negotiation.[147] Bargaining with, or otherwise appeasing, taxpayers was a common strategy that strengthened imperial controls as well as local defense and finance. However, these tendencies toward

[144] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 33.
[145] John Leddy Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution In Colombia, 1781* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), xviii.
[146] Free blacks paid tribute to the Seminole Nation, in addition to the Spanish Empire, to secure safety from British enslavement. See Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 68. For the case of the Comanche, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 181-182.
[147] Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 9.

negotiation did not have the effect of centralizing authority or administration.[148] Distance allowed officials and subjects far from the capital to assert their needs while creating multiple nodes of authority throughout New Spain.

Any profound fiscal changes in these environments would elicit responses dependent upon the local allegiances and grievances of taxpayers. Increasing taxes was often odious for subjects, but so was dragging new taxpayers into contact with a zealous fiscal regime. A gradual expansion of tributary obligations was preferable to any sudden "novel" change (*novedad*), noted early-eighteenth century officials and ecclesiastics wary of revolt.[149] Their concern was not unfounded: the creation of a census by royal officials and its potential threat to local privileges led to rebellions in the southern Andes in 1730.[150] New Spain produced unmatched revenue for the Spanish Empire with relative compliance throughout the eighteenth century, although loyalty to a distant regime could become fragile. Violent resistance was highly localized, and dissatisfied subjects could move beyond the margins of Spanish control in response to high levels of taxation.

The oversight of the Royal Treasury seemed, in the minds of viceregal bureaucrats and some local officials, insufficient in the near-North. Officials on frontiers across Spanish America struggled to collect royal tributes, as sparse populations or delicate political alliances with Indian groups impeded this type of taxation.[151] The mines at Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Guanajuato lay close to the Kingdoms of Nuevo León

---

[148] Irigoin and Grafe, "Bargaining for Absolutism," 189.
[149] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 7, f. 786v.
[150] Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions in Revolts in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne: Bohlau Verlag & Cie, 1985), 75.
[151] David Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 205.

and Nuevo Santander. These kingdoms were inhabited by hostile Indian groups, like the Chichimecs, and associated with danger, instability, and an unreliable tax base. In the 1720s and 1730s, colonizing efforts into the far-North would intensify,[152] but the silver mines at the northern borders of the Kingdom of New Spain retained frontier characteristics in the eyes of viceregal bureaucrats. The turn of the eighteenth century was a time of famine in much of New Spain; social unrest and food shortages sparked a riot in the capital itself in 1692.[153] Between 1712 and 1714, the Bajío, among other regions, experienced severe droughts, poor harvests, and epidemics.[154] During this tense period, bureaucrats negotiated with local officials in an attempt to understand taxation in frontier mining zones and to further incorporate them into larger fiscal, administrative, and social structures.

Calidad *on a Frontier: San Luis Potosí, 1702-16*

In San Luis Potosí, an ethnically diverse region at the turn of the eighteenth century, *calidad* became part of a local and viceregal discussion of tributary status that hinged on ideas about loyalty, obligation, and subjecthood. Founded as a settlement in 1592 near the Cerro de San Pedro, in the heart of Chichimec territory, silver mining was

[152] Sean F. McEnroe, *From Colony to Nationhood in Mexico: Laying the Foundations, 1560-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 119.
[153] R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 126.
[154] Virginia García Acosta, Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, and América Molina del Villar, *Desastres agrícolas en México: Catálogo histórico*, tomo I: Epocas prehispánica y colonial (958-1822) (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2003), 1685-1688.

so successful that the site was named for its Andean predecessor.[155] There were diverse Indian groups residing in the area: local Guachichil peoples as well as immigrant Otomí, Tonaltec, Tarascan, Tlaxcalan, Mexica, and other Chichimec peoples.[156] By the end of the sixteenth century, the mines were prosperous, and the settlement had been transformed from a military outpost to a civil society with Spanish American fixtures like a mayor and a plaza.[157] The city's wealth depended on the voluntary labor of Indians and free-coloreds and that of slaves.[158] Equally important was the settlement's safety, which was only as secure as the loyalty of its Afromexican and Indian subjects.

Lawmakers of the late seventeenth century had already observed that free-colored families were not meeting their obligations to the Crown. This "abundance" of free-colored and Indian men and women living in the city and its surrounding jurisdiction were "independent of the service of miners, who are vagrants and without a trade and who live on their own without paying tribute." In response, a law was issued demanding that all unregistered Indian and free-colored tributaries appear before authorities and be added to the list, allowing officials to "come to know who these individuals are, where they live, and to charge all that to Your Majesty is owed." Any potential tributary that did not follow this course of action would face ten days in jail as "disobedient and rebellious."[159] The difficulties facing officials in San Luis Potosí were multifaceted: a

---

[155] Kendall Brown, *A History of Mining in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 16.
[156] Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 215-216.
[157] J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Real de Minas as a Political Institution. A Study of a Frontier Institution in Spanish Colonial America" *HAHR* 7, no. 1 (1927): 67-70. The area would not reach city status until 1655.
[158] P.J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 129.
[159] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1, f 35v-37v .

mass exodus of tributaries from the mines would deplete royal taxes, while a lack of tribute would likewise deprive the crown of much-needed revenue.

Lawyers in the capital, clergy on the frontier, and town officials in the jurisdiction of San Luis Potosí collaborated to define the local meanings of tribute at the close of Habsburg rule. Now that the mines had been in operation for more than a century, San Luis Potosí was officially a city, and the unruliness of the local population was a point of frustration. Miners complained that their workers could not be obligated to labor in the mines; employees of the Royal Treasury worried that families did not pay taxes; priests bemoaned the migratory practices of Indian and free-colored populations. The complaints from San Luis Potosí came at a critical transitional moment in the midst of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-14), in which Bourbon government was not yet in place, but the continued survival of Spanish Habsburg territories was uncertain. Local and viceregal officials attempted to create free-colored tributary subjects who would be willing vassals to the Spanish Crown, a process crucial to securing the stability of the frontier region. In return for their participation, free-coloreds could live in Spanish society and form sanctioned networks, commercial, familial, and Catholic.[160]

The financial and administrative decay of the late-seventeenth century was one of the most pressing issues facing not only tribute, but also the very survival of the Bourbon regime in Mexico. In 1710, the first *visitador* of the new regime, Francisco de Pagave, set out for the mines at Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Pachuca, and others to recuperate imperial finances following the war. Upon his *visita* to the *caja* at San Luis Potosí in

[160] Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 11.

1712, Pagave discovered the notorious corruption perpetrated by Manuel Díaz de Llanos, accountant, and Pedro de Ibarra, treasurer.[161] Perhaps to cover up their own malfeasance, these two officials had denounced the behavior of financially stable free-colored men and women who refused to pay royal tribute. According to the oversight at the *real caja*, these potential tributaries, instead of laboring in mines, chose to become vendors of foodstuffs and supplies.[162] In this light, the absence of monies in the *caja* would have resulted from the refusal of "free *mulatos*, *mulatas*, *negros* and *negras*" to "subject themselves to serve in any task."[163] Díaz de Llanos also blamed the behavior of local Spaniards, noting that free-coloreds supplied fuel and other goods "which are constantly bought by the miners and *vecinos* of the city."[164] These services were vital to the working of any mine, and presumably local businessmen and women did not wish to drive away the peddlers and vendors by taxing them. And so, despite their publicly known source of income, these free-coloreds did not fulfill the right of the King to receive tribute from his vassals.

Díaz de Llanos and Ibarra referenced a trope of the devious and disloyal Afromexican[165] that had specific resonance on the northern frontiers. Though officials in Mexico City and the city of San Luis Potosí had fixated on the failure to collect Afromexican tribute in the seventeenth century, other local leaders expressed reluctance to charge tribute. The shifting allegiances of tributaries were of primary concern to those

[161] Amalia Gómez Gómez, *Las visitas de la real hacienda novohispana en el reinado de Felipe V: 1710-1733* (Seville: Editorial CSIC, 1979), 81-85.
[162] AGI, Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f 68-68v.
[163] AGI, Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f 70.
[164] AGI, Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 70.
[165] Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 76.

who resided in the near-North. This was a region of mines as well as missions dependent on local Indians and free-coloreds for defense, according to local clergy. In their eyes, "Not only do these Indians and *mulatos* serve in the mines, but they also defend against all the *naciones* of *indios bárbaros* from the East."[166] Administrators across the colony were inculcated with narratives in which Afromexicans harassed Indian communities, questioned Spanish authority, and practiced dangerous magic.[167] But on the frontiers of San Luis Potosí, clergy and laypeople depended on free-colored residents, who might leave the jurisdiction if subjected to tribute payments. The question of participation in tribute was, therefore, one of political and economic integration as well as commitment to colonial rule. Where these features were weak, local leaders reasoned that royal tribute was unsustainable.

This instability had manifested in the patchy administration of tribute at the end of Habsburg rule, which left behind numerous legal and procedural conundrums for the new regime. Perhaps the most striking was that a previous group of officials had collected tribute between 1650 and 1693 but had stopped without any warning, leaving eighteenth-century officials with an uncertain guide to traditional tribute rates. [168] During this period, more than two hundred families paid in the city of San Luis Potosí. At mid-century, free-colored men and women experienced relatively equal rates of payment. This was the case for sisters Catalina and Petrona Lazerda, *mulatas* residing in Barrio of Tequisquiapa,

[166] AGI, Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 88-88v.
[167] See Joan Bristol, "From Curing to Witchcraft: Afro-Mexicans and the Mediation of Authority," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 14; and Andrew B. Fisher, "Creating and Contesting Community: Indians and Afromestizos in the Late-Colonial Tierra Caliente of Guerrero, Mexico," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 4.
[168] AGI, Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 67-67v.

who paid three pesos between them in 1654. Others paid in lump sums, as did a free *mulato* called Francisco de Espinal, who paid four and a half pesos in 1690 to account for the years 1678-80. After 1654, only María de Ortega, a *mulata libre* and a *soltera*, paid tribute in 1689 as a single woman. The trend toward payment from men suggests a gendered meaning of tribute at the century's end.

Table 1. *Free-colored Tribute Payments in San Luis Potosí for 1653-4, 1689-90, 1692-3*

Amounts Paid	Individuals	Total Paid in *Pesos*	Total Paid in *Reales*	Total Tribute[a]	Avg. R*eales* Paid per Year	Percent of Tribute Payments
Married Couples	8[b]	6	24	72	9	14.6%
Unmarried Men	19	9	192	264	13.9	53.7%
Unmarried Women	14	10.5	72	156	11.1	31.7%
Totals	41	25.5	288	492	12	100%

Source: AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1.
[a]Converted to *reales*, where 1 *peso* is 8 *reales*
[b]Includes one a *mulata* slave

This short list suggests a transition toward a tributary subject who was more likely to be male and less likely to be *negro*. A greater number of Africans and slaves made the term "*negro*" prominent during the early period of colonization of New Spain. In 1654, a total of four *negras* and two *negros* appeared on the San Luis Potosí register of people who had paid. By the late-seventeenth century, just one *negra* and one *negro* were recorded, and they were a married couple. Keeping in mind that 23 of the total of 37 (62%) records discussed here were taken from 1654, it is important to observe the late-century preference for terms like "*mulato*," "*pardo*," and even "*moreno*," rather than

"*negro*." This shift reflects the importance of *mulato* slaves and free people, who formed the majority of Afromexicans in the region by mid-century.[169]

The late-seventeenth century records suggest that caste fluctuated among some individuals in the tributary population, especially those who were perceived as darker. While the overall preference was for terms that originated in the caste system, individuals who were of a particular complexion, social standing, or genealogy stood out to commissioners. Changes caste labels became salient when local authorities in San Luis Potosí managed to repeatedly register and extract tribute from the same individuals for several years. In 1689, *negra libre* María de la Cruz from San Lorenzo and her husband Juan de Dios, a free *moreno*, paid twelve *reales*. The following year, the couple paid the full three *pesos*, but this time with Juan de Dios shifted from being a *moreno libre* to a *negro*. Another man, the *soltero* Joseph García de Zeuda, shifted from being simply a *pardo* to being a *pardo de color*, a distinction which emphasized his dark color. In the city of San Luis Potosí, he paid twelve *reales* from his trade as a shoemaker in both 1692 and 1693.[170]

The officials who registered and charged tribute of Juan and Joseph did not offer much evidence of why these different terms were applicable to the same people. It is clear from these examples that the rate of tribute did not necessarily depend on color, since Joseph's rate of tribute remained constant in both years he was registered. The two cases show that labels denoting freedom, color, or caste might be added or removed,

---

[169] Frank T. Proctor, "La familia y la comunidad esclava en San Luis Potosí y Guanajuato: 1640-1750," in *Rutas de la esclavitud en Áfrıca y América Latina*, Rina Cáceres Gómez, ed. (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001), 223-250.
[170] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1.

depending on commissioner preferences and individual social standing. That is, these records imply that Juan and Joseph appeared differently to the authorities who collected tribute in 1689 and 1690. These tributaries might have had darker skin or phenotypes that appeared somehow distinctive. In the case of Juan de Dios, his association with a *negra libre* through marriage may have prompted an official to realign his caste to mirror that of his spouse, regardless of his own appearance. This practice was known in other mining communities later in the eighteenth century.[171] Though the prominence of the caste system allowed terms like "*mulato*" and "*pardo*" to spread in San Luis Potosí, some individuals were still reputed as *negros* and darker-skinned *pardos*.

Married couples were conspicuously absent from the free-colored sample in the seventeenth century. The handful of examples shows a diversity of marital choices, some of them uncommon ones such as a partnership between enslaved women and free men. What cannot be determined from the list local officials made are rates of intermarriage among tributaries of different castes. Free-colored tributaries, married or otherwise, were absent from productive mines like Guanajuato, a fact that *oidor* Tristan de la Riva y Neyra cited in his investigation.[172] Married *indios laborío*s in the sample were evidently endogamous and greatly outnumbered the mere four Afromexican married tributaries. This predominance of *indios laborío*s was one of the inspirations behind the efforts of Riva y Neyra and others toward the "reestablishment of royal tribute" among not only free-coloreds, but Indians as well.[173]

---

[171] McCaa, "Calidad, Clase and Marriage," 493.
[172] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 6 f. 660
[173] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 7.

With the knowledge of what had been collected and from whom over the past half century, officials in Mexico City looked for other precedents that would guide local collectors. One such document was a Viceroy Monterrey's printed instruction from 1598 that had circulated to magistrates across New Spain. Local officials as well as bureaucrats in the capital consulted this circular for more than a century, and it was included in the San Luis Potosí cases to decide the legitimacy of local privileges. Viceroy Monterrey's instructions compiled laws from the late-sixteenth century to codify the procedures of collection and registration of tribute, focusing on labor and reproduction. Tributaries would pay "one gold *peso* each year, being an unmarried man or woman without a trade (*oficio*) and married couples two *pesos* each year even if there are some married to a male or female slave."[174] Unmarried "craftsmen of any trade" would pay the same rate as a married couple: two pesos in tribute and four *reales* in *servicio real*. The same annual rate applied to unmarried free-colored men connected to Spaniards through "trade, work, or livelihood."[175] Thus, early forms of free-colored tribute were based on financial resources and the knowledge local officials held regarding free-colored livelihoods and trades.

The rise of *calidad* and its relationship to the category of the free-colored tributary necessitated modifications to Viceroy Monterrey's circular. Officials were concerned with the tributary status of servants and how they were to be counted based on their *calidad*. Judges at the Royal Treasury determined in 1710 that San Luis Potosí lists should be kept based on "distinctions of the *calidad de las personas* of such servants and

[174] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 108.
[175] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 108.

that of those to whom they are married."[176] The language of *calidad* was not as standardized in this period, and the Royal Treasury was careful to specify some approach that would approximate this social marker. The use of the phrase "qualities of the persons" steered the discussion away from references to occupation or marital status. The *calidad* was to be an expression of caste categories, which themselves were not obvious. For this reason, these lists were only to "express [*calidades*] of those who are notoriously *negros*, *mulatos*, or *indios*, but not that of those for whom it is doubtful if they are or not, and much less that of their wives, without knowing them or their names." Doubts were to be assuaged through the process of "soliciting, searching out, and copying the baptismal certificates" for such people.[177] These instructions showed an emerging tension between a rationalizing viceregal bureaucracy that sought to classify subjects using *calidad*, and some local officials who believed this project was next to impossible.

Opinions on free-colored tribute were not uniform among local officials, some of whom actively aided the requests of the capital. General Don Alonso Munoz Castelblanco, a local miner, would become instrumental to the Pagave *visita*.[178] In 1711, Castelblanco affirmed that Indians and free-coloreds understood "the great obligation they have to contribute to Your Majesty."[179] Yet *operarios* in the mines, along with the "*fronterizos*," (frontier soldiers) had "completely refused to pay anything under any

[176] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 261
[177] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 1, f.261v
[178] Gómez Gómez, *Las visitas*, 84.
[179] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 3, f. 481.

terms."[180] In the middle of the uproar, Captain Don Francisco Fernández de Herrera undertook the task of creating another *padrón* in 1711 for the "towns, barrios, haciendas, ranches, farms, forges, and the city that contain these vassals." The lists of the *laborío*s and free-coloreds of the jurisdiction were followed by a list of properties and their residents between 1715 and 1716.

The 1711 *padrón* was to contain all *negros*, *mulatos*, or *zambaigos*, along with "women in case the Viceroy Duque de Linares decided that they should pay."[181] As mentioned previously, the use of *negro* had dropped, but as many as five *negros*, married and *solteros*, were recorded in 1711. The year 1716 also contained *negros*, like Pasqual Hernandez, who was married and worked on the Hacienda de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe belonging to the Fathers of San Agustin. In addition, *mulatos*, *pardos*, *lobos*, *coyotes*, and *moriscos* all appeared on the *padrones* of San Luis Potosí during this period. Both *tribute registers* list adults and children, three of whom were called "*mulatillos*" who lived on the Hacienda de Obejas belonging to Don Nicolás Fernando de Torres in 1711. This hacienda registered eleven married *mulato* couples, along with five other unmarried people, giving it the highest concentration of Afromexicans among the 65 ranches, haciendas, mines, and towns surveyed for that year. The term "*mulato*" could absorb both African and Indian blood, as was common across New Spain. On a *rancho* in San Miguel de Tequesquite, among five *mulato* children recorded was eight-year-old Bernardo, the child of Miguel Lopes, a *mulato* slave, and María Rosa, an Indian.

[180] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 7, f. 771v
[181] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 7, f. 837.

Table 2. *Free-coloreds and Indians in the Jurisdiction of San Luis Potosí, 1711*

Tributary Status	Individuals
Married Indians	1206
Unmarried Indian Men	208
Married Free-coloreds	296
Unmarried Free-colored Men	67
Reservados	164
Children	837
Total	2778

Source: AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 15

Local officials and ordinary people submitted their opinions regarding the flawed *padrón* to the judges in the Royal Treasury. The starkest shortcoming of the list was its lack of individuals, in the eyes of viceregal bureaucrats. The paltry number of tributaries prompted local officials to defend themselves and their methods. Magistrate Josef Espinosa claimed that the free-coloreds registered in San Luis Potosí were "very few" and that "other vassals have not been found in this city" despite diligent efforts on the part of himself and his fellow officials.[182] To make matters worse, the past register was of little utility for creating a new one. Some who had been recorded in the recent past were actually deceased, such as Francisco Xavier de los Reyes, a *mulato forastero*, and *vecino* of the Real de los Porros.[183] He was unmarried ["*de estado suelto*"] and had no family, which compounded his status as an outsider, a *forastero*. Mistakes like this one rendered older registers useless and impeded normal processes by which authorities would "discover" (*descubrir*) the location and *calidad* of tributary subjects.[184]

The *alcalde* called on Juan Francisco Ferrete, a middle-aged free *mulato* and *vecino* of San Luis Potosí, to testify as to the state of the tribute register. Ferrete, a

[182] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1566 and 1568.
[183] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1537.
[184] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1537.

literate man, presumably had witnessed past tribute collection efforts and knew about their outcomes among free-colored families. At the time of the last collection of "*vasallaje*" (another term for "tribute"), Ferrete declared, free-coloreds were registered twice, or mistakenly placed in towns, barrios, or on mining haciendas. "Many were *forasteros* whose names could not be obtained," and "not even a third of them have been registered."[185] The presence of large numbers of tributary immigrants was plausible. Tributaries on the registers of the late-seventeenth century hailed from other economic centers like Querétaro, León, and Guadalajara. Ferrete's description of a dislocated community of mobile *forasteros* with confusing tribute obligations offered multiple reasons for the low tributary numbers. Previous officials had created unsatisfactory *padrones*, but free-coloreds themselves also "fled" registration,[186] failing to meet their obligations as subjects. Obtaining testimony from a free-colored *vecino* may have been a strategic attempt on the part of local officials to demonstrate that they had consulted relevant community leaders, thus doing everything possible to extract tribute. The task was simply impossible because of the lack of credible information as well as the lack of honor and loyalty of free-colored subjects to their king.

To revise the register, officials needed not only to find ("*hallar*") the tributaries but to determine or discover ("*descubrir*") *calidad*. For colonial authorities in San Luis Potosí and, by extension, in Mexico City, these data collection projects required the cooperation of local property owners. Authorities believed that property owners and local free-coloreds were the best sources of information regarding the adults and children

[185] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1569.
[186] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1569v.

of varied castes who worked in the mines or in related industries. On the Hacienda of San Neta, working as *herradores* were Indian and free-colored children including an unnamed "*coyotillo*," as well as Nicolás Quintero an *español*. When the tribute registers were renewed in 1716, property owners and local officials were frustrated with the demands of tribute collection and registration.

The responsibility of local officials, according to Viceroy Monterrey's instructions of 1598, was to collect free-colored tribute from families and individuals or to "notify their *amos* that they should pay for them [the free-coloreds]."[187] The onus of locating tributaries passed between collectors, magistrates, and disgruntled property owners. In the Mina de Ibarra, there was apparently "just one" free-colored tributary, Marcos, which prompted a local clergyman to explain, "I do not know if he is *mulato* or *mestizo* and in case he is a *mulato* he is the only one."[188] One man from San Luis Potosí was described as "*volantón*," presumably because he was highly mobile. The owner of an unnamed *hacienda de fundición* in the mines of San Francisco de los Pozos declared that the handful of tributary *operarios* on his property were "masters of their own will who work when they wish...which is why I am not obliged to pay on behalf of any of them."[189] Where tributaries were scarce, or where individuals earned their pay independently, some designated *amos* were unwilling to shoulder the tributary burden.

Despite these protests, at least fifteen property owners did submit to evaluation in 1711 and 1715-16. This number may be higher, because place names were unstable over the years surveyed. Other descriptions of property and people are too vague to draw

[187] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 2, f. 240v.
[188] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1572v.
[189] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f 1572.

conclusions, such as the "workers who belong to Captain Ignacio Lambarri," who numbered 15 in 1712. Of those that can be identified, not all appear to be Spanish. One Diego Ruiz, whose ranch registered two married *mulatos* and a *soltero* in both 1711 and 1716, appears to have been the father of the four *mulato* children registered on the property in 1711. A wealthier man who employed cattle ranchers and *labradores*, Capitan Pedro Estrada Altamirano, registered his Hacienda La Ciénaga residents and workers[190] and the Hacienda Las Tortugas in 1712 and 1716. Between 1712 and 1715, an estancia or hacienda called Tepetate belonging to Francisco Guerrero, attorney of the *Real Audiencia*, grew slightly, perhaps under greater scrutiny and pressure to increase tribute. The population of this property grew from six *mulato* married couples to eight, and 23 total children to 25, all in all yielding ten pesos in total tribute from *laborío*s and *mulatos*.[191] Other haciendas, such as San Miguel belonging to Lazaro Yrriegas, lost occupants between 1712 and 1715 (see Appendix 1).

The continuities in registration and payments from particular property owners and laborers demonstrate the importance of tribute for maintaining local economies of both money and prestige. Wealthy men and women in San Luis Potosí who refused to pay faced scrutiny from the Royal Treasury—in the form of fines or prosecution—even as they tried to deny the application of rules to their mines, haciendas, and ranches. For their part, local free-coloreds had little incentive to participate in tribute, given that they participated in a cash economy. Though property owners reported small numbers, qualitative accounts speak to the mobility of this population. Mine operators enjoyed

[190] One person is registered as part of a "*cañada*" in 1712 but not on the *hacienda*.
[191] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 16, f. 1498v.

tribute privileges because officials could not afford to lose valuable revenue caused by worker flight. At certain moments, free-colored workers who trafficked in coal and firewood, or who labored underground, did face registration. Most likely, tribute officials extracted as much money as they deemed appropriate without driving away free-colored laborers. At the same time, if they wished to live in the city of San Luis Potosí or practice a trade, free-coloreds would leave documentary evidence of their sedentary lifestyle. The payment of tribute, from free-coloreds or on their behalf, allowed workers, tradesmen, merchants, and property owners alike to build a reputation of legitimacy and loyalty to the crown.

Discussions about tribute among ordinary people, local officials, and viceregal bureaucrats implied a relationship between free-colored *calidad* and loyalty. In the early eighteenth century, *calidad* retained its associations with good quality, honor, and service among Afromexicans in central New Spain. On the frontier of San Luis Potosí, the uncertain *calidades* and loyalties of free-colored people blurred together. In the words of General Castelblanco, once Indians and *mulatos* were aware of "the great obligation they have to contribute to Your Majesty,"[192] they faced the choice of performing the duties of subjects or living as disloyal and mobile individuals. Local leaders were not the only ones to connect tribute with fealty. Free-coloreds' use of the term "*vasallaje*" for tribute suggests that all sectors of society in San Luis Potosí understood the connections between royal tribute and subjecthood. Depictions of free-coloreds as a cornerstone of stability, whose allegiance was imperative, competed with those of greedy, untrustworthy free-coloreds who posed a threat to imperial control of specie in an increasingly wealthy

[192] AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuaderno 3, f. 481.

region. In both cases, free-colored *calidad* had become a principal way to articulate free-colored subjecthood and standing within the colonial regime.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the meanings of *calidad* within tribute, focusing on a frontier zone before the eighteenth century and in the first decades of Bourbon rule. Assessing tribute in this period was an early part of a larger process of consolidation and review of taxation across New Spain.[193] By creating tribute registers, officials could identify who tributaries were, through their social relationships and *calidad*; where tributaries were, through the residences kept by their *amos*; and what tributaries were, through conceptions of vassalage. All of these factors were controlled, in part, within communities and could not be imposed from the capital. Free-coloreds knew one another and could direct a commissioner to erase or inflate the numbers of deceased or absent people in a given area. When an *oidor* in Mexico City wanted a list of tributaries from a jurisdiction, the people who had to comply were property owners, whose economic relationships to tributaries resulted in a kind of responsibility few wanted. Colonial authorities and hacienda owners developed an ambivalent relationship regarding tribute, especially that of Indians, but the former were willing to allow labor migration to *haciendas* provided they continued to extract tribute.[194] In these ways and others

[193] Brian Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern México: 1750-1821* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 14-16.
[194] Cheryl English Martin, "Indigenous Peoples" in *The Countryside in Latin America*, ed. Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 208.

described in the chapter, the capital compromised and conversed with its provinces in order to revise the meanings of tributary status.

Bureaucrats and jurists constructed their own notions and drew on historic ideals of what a tributary subject should be.[195] These ideas began to feature *calidad* as a major factor in determining tributary status. In theory, a tributary was a free-colored person whose *calidad* was obvious, who worked in a designated trade, who belonged to a family unit, and who performed his or her duties to the Crown. Unsurprisingly, few such free-coloreds were available when it came time to make a register. An abundance of individuals, especially when economies were healthy, seemed to have access to cash and to work but served no *amo*. Others were prestigious and integrated into their communities but refused to submit to the duties of tributary status. Still other individuals were itinerant or interacted with multiple social groups so as to maintain a variety of reputations and statuses.[196]

Whether these portraits accurately reflected free-colored life, or were the invention of frustrated provincial officials and elites, is information to which bureaucrats did not have access. They simply had to trust the observations of a local agent or send a *visitador* hundreds of miles into what could amount to a bureaucratic wilderness. The particularly slippery nature of *calidad* only complicated matters. Within these disputes between local officials and viceregal bureaucrats, free-colored subjects "found plenty of

[195] Miranda, *El tributo indígena*, 198-199.
[196] Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 27.

room to maneuver."[197] The tribute regime depended on the cooperation of local elites and officials, as well as tributaries themselves, to determine *calidad*.

Why did free-coloreds acquiesce to the imposition of tribute in the first decades of Bourbon rule? It is possible that some ordinary people chose to participate in order to maintain their families and social circles within the communities they valued. Much of the time, payment of taxes was a sign of vassalage and duty free-coloreds saw little point in rejecting, as they did not wish to leave their homes or incur fines. By the seventeenth century, urban Afromexicans had begun to assert their personal attachments to specific streets or neighborhoods in their marriage records.[198] Unlike the focus in later decades on the singular insult of tribute,[199] the early uses of *calidad* within the tributary regime appear to have been more diverse. The onerous payments signified the stain of black blood, but tribute also legitimated the status of free-coloreds as vassals of the Spanish monarch. Rather than perpetual outsiders or dangerous vagrants, free-coloreds used the tributary regime as a space in which to articulate positive narratives of service or historically privileged lineage. On the frontier of San Luis Potosí, tributary status was at once a marker of blackness, obligation, residence, *calidad*, and loyalty. Nearer to the capital, the streamlining of *calidad* and tributary status would erode these multifaceted meanings as the eighteenth century progressed.

[197] Milton and Vinson, "Counting Heads," 2.
[198] Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 148.
[199] Vinson, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty*, 132-172.

Chapter 2

Free-colored Tributary Status and Procedure in Central Mexico

"Indian girls, being of better *calidad* and *condición* than *mulatas*, are not exempt from paying [tribute]…"[200]
---Prudencio Antonio de Palacios, *Fiscal* of the Audiencia of Mexico, 1729

This chapter is about tributary procedure and status, and the ways in which they were intertwined. As the Spanish Bourbon regime consolidated its authority in the first decades of the eighteenth century, viceregal bureaucrats were preoccupied with reviewing tributary practice in the lucrative northern mines. Central New Spain, the focus of this chapter, posed its own challenges in the wake of widespread famine and rioting in Mexico City. Case studies in this chapter illuminate the procedures of law, collection, and counting through which viceregal bureaucrats and local officials used tribute as a means to gather knowledge and extract wealth. Expressions of tribute and *calidad* before the visitation of José de Gálvez y Gallardo (1765-71) show the basis of free-colored tribute in local relationships. The cases addressed in this chapter deal with the kinds of discussions and insults, impositions and concessions, friends and enemies, which were formed as a result of tribute collection and registration.

The eighteenth century tribute regime was a nexus of institutions, precedents, motivations, and vocabularies which created documents as multivalent as the system propelling their creation. As this dissertation demonstrates, tributary identity had conflicting and complex meanings for tributaries and for those who taxed them. It was

[200] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 114v.

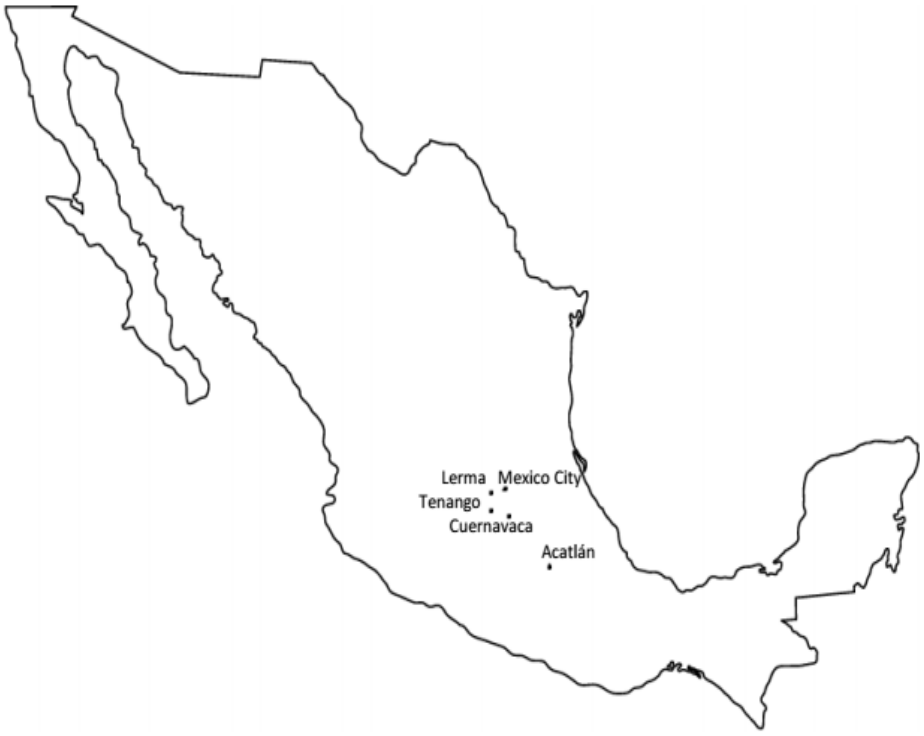
not only the tributary category that was flexible; the identity of the tribute commissioner was also decidedly vague. He should not be one of the local magistrates, who had gained a reputation for corruption as the "locusts of the kingdom" in the minds of later reformers like Viceroy Revillagigedo.[201] In short, a commissioner was any person who had gained the "confidence" of provincial authorities.[202] Against this changeable institutional backdrop, the registers display the diverse kinship networks free-coloreds built among themselves and with Indians, Spaniards, and *mestizos*.

Relationships between local agents and tributaries were the primary determinants of tributary status, especially before the Caroline Era. To explore the individual and interpersonal elements of *calidad*, the chapter identifies the types of confusion and irritation tribute collectors and local officials expressed in the early decades of the eighteenth century. First, the chapter addresses the genealogical ties between free-coloreds and Indians in Cuernavaca, and free-coloreds and Spaniards in Lerma, for tributary outcomes. These genealogical and spatial connections shaped tribute registration and community formation. Next, the chapter examines gender and local squabbles related to tribute in Tenango del Valle, near Toluca. Finally, the analysis shifts to a case from Acatlán, in what is now the state of Puebla (see Map 1). Here, local officials streamlined the use of tribute registers and consistently extracted tribute. These procedures foreshadowed the growth of tribute that would occur after the 1760s. Taken as a whole, the chapter demonstrates that bureaucrats in Mexico City were consolidating

[201] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 82.
[202] See Article 133 published in Marina Mantilla Trolle, Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, and Agustín Moreno, *Real Ordenanza para el establecimiento e instrucción de intendentes de ejército y provincial en el reino de la Nueva España: Edición anotada de la Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008) 288.

their authority within the tributary regime before the Caroline Reforms. This period is important for the dissertation in that it establishes how officials began to develop rational modes of knowledge-gathering that defined free-colored tributary community.

Map 1. *Locations of Case Studies Examined in Chapter 2.*



Registering Subjects

Calidad was the product of multiple decisions made over a lifetime, by subjects, local officials, family and community members, clergy, the courts, and through other

interpersonal and juridical relationships.[203] At the center of Spanish American institutional life, Indians and free-coloreds often lived in closer proximity to authorities as well as to the courts, which provided legal insurance to Indians in particular.[204] In the valleys that surrounded Mexico City, Cuernavaca, and Toluca, reformers sought to improve counting and extracting methods. In these areas, denser populations and greater access to the courts also created higher stakes for tribute collection; the Royal Treasury expected local officials to attain large amounts of revenue. Attempts to streamline the tributary population met with varying degrees of acceptance at the local level, and had the potential to provoke a public scandal. The kinds of legal contests that ensued would be genealogical in nature and predicated on tributary registration itself.

Each time a local official charged free-colored tribute or created its associated registers, he made choices about his constituents' *calidad*. At the head of many local efforts were Spanish governors, mayors, magistrates, or military men.[205] Indian officials also enforced free-colored tribute, in the absence of or in concert with a designated Spanish official. Finally, free-coloreds participated as sources of oral information crucial to forming lists, or as advocates for changing tribute registers in the courts. These distinct groups sustained the hierarchy of tribute bureaucracy, stating opinions about *calidad* in writing or through quotidian actions. Notions of *calidad* connected with ideas

[203] Tribute bureaucrats might even be witnesses at free-colored weddings. A 1631 marriage in Mexico City between the *mulata* widow Teresa de San Pedro and Andrés García was witnessed by an accountant of royal tribute. See AGN, Regio Patronato Indiano, Matrimonios vol. 5, exp. 24.
[204] Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 1.
[205] Depending on the area, these Spanish officials could be *alcalde*s *ordinarios*, *gobernadores*, *corregidores*, or *alcalde*s *mayores*. In the absence of an *alcalde ordinario*, any of the other officials listed could act as a judge of first instance in a tribute dispute. See Rubio Mañé, *El Virreinato*, 77.

about place of origin, nativeness, and control. Whether painstaking or haphazard, these decisions highlight the importance of relationships in the process of determining *calidad*.

As specified since the sixteenth century, the preferred form of documentation of tributary numbers was a list created by a mayor or magistrate.[206] Residents of a town could be deemed alleged free-coloreds with or without their knowledge. In reality, the official who made the list is at times unclear, but the signatures certifying the document's veracity would be those of Spanish or native official as well as a scribe. To facilitate the process and retain a record of free-colored families, the register could draw from prior lists following genealogical and marital ties. When no such list existed, the mayor called upon a community member, perhaps a native governor or a clergyman, to compile the information. Ideally, registering individuals as free-coloreds required comparison with ecclesiastical records like baptismal certificates. Periodic decrees from Mexico might require that the *alcalde* create an entirely new list.

For administrators, the tribute system provided a convenient method of organization as it annually reinforced tributary status and *calidad*. This practice could create a cycle of registering and re-registering individuals based on their past identification as tributaries, effectively maintaining a social order based on a family history of tribute. In 1618, Philip III had decreed that tribute registers include the names and ages of children of tributaries. The registers "should be orderly, in order to avoid arguments" and prevent individual protests upon registration as adults.[207] Keeping a close watch on who enjoyed which tribute privileges, and for which reasons, was of

[206] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 6520, exp. 15, f. 14, 1723.
[207] Libro VI, Título III, Ley XXIII in *Recopilación*.

critical importance to maintaining the local knowledge that set certain families apart by blood or by service to the crown.

Though registration among free-coloreds could be conducted separately from Indians, this was not always the case. Free-coloreds and Indians might appear on the same list, provided the latter were "*laborías*," a group of Indians lacking the privileges and obligations of *indios de pueblo*. The term *laborío* took on nuanced meaning dependent on changing usage over time, as well as local labor conditions and understandings of caste.[208] Sometimes *indios laborías* were listed alongside free-coloreds in the early eighteenth century, preserving earlier precedent across the Spanish Empire.[209] Because both were tributary but did not contribute to or benefit from the community coffers of *indios de pueblo*, free-coloreds and *laborías* had legal commonalities that were not defined by *calidad*.

The people who made decisions about taxation, from lawmakers in Mexico to local Indian governors, created a web of tributary characteristics that drew on legal status, residence, reputation, gender, and lineage. This piece-by-piece construction of tributary status gradually became entwined with *calidad*. The characteristics that indicated tributary status and free-colored *calidad* were not stable, nor was there much agreement

[208] Silvio Zavala identifies this label as that of a free wage laborer. See Silvio Arturo Zavala and María Castelo, *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en la Nueva España* (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica), 271, cited in Manuela Cristina García Bernal, *La Sociedad De Yucatán, 1700-1750* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1972), 28. By the eighteenth century, *laborías* in Guatemala could be "(1) Indian tributaries who claimed *laborío* status based on military service and (2) the offspring of Indian women and either naboría, free mulatto, or free black fathers." See Christopher Lutz, *Santiago De Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 270 n. 31.

[209] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 6578, exp. 17, 1718. In Guatemala after 1680, Lutz claims that *laborío* tribute was only collected from free-coloreds. See Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala*, 270.

about what they meant. A tribute register was often the product of discussion and disagreement, rather than an indicator of tacit acceptance or total control.

The spread of vocabularies of *calidad* was, as one historian writes, "the result of ordinary people in everyday life pushing, expanding, and testing the categories by grading themselves up and others down."[210] The daily use of these words quickly spread into tribute court cases, often as a result of alleged insults and mistakes. Confusion and confrontation in local contexts brought questions about *calidad* as a social category to the legal system. When tributaries paid, registered, resisted, or complained, local interpretations met bureaucratic discourse on *calidad*, promoting a vocabulary of *calidad* among ordinary people and bureaucrats. By registering as tributaries, individuals affirmed their free-colored *calidad* for the purposes of interaction with the colonial regime. In other cases, this shared language allowed local disputes to blossom into legal, even philosophical, problems of concern to the highest levels of government.

Genealogy and Tributary Status at Mid-Century

Registration was both the construction and reiteration of a genealogy of tributary status or exemption. The following two cases, similar in their treatment of tributary status as a sign of community belonging, explore the problem of tributary status produced by diverse genealogies. From Mexico City, state attorneys (*fiscales*) pored over these cases with an eye toward privilege—whether free-coloreds with Indian blood were more

[210] Richard Boyer, "Negotiating Calidad: The Everyday Struggle for Status in Mexico," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 66-67.

deserving of royal leniency than were those of Spanish descent. In fact, these cases rested on the age of their evidence as much as its content. Residents shored up both genealogical connections to the distant past, as well as immediate spatial and familial ties within their communities.

"A harsh thing to separate them from their parents"[211]*: Immigrant Ringleaders or Native Sons?*

In 1725, the Indian governor of the headtown of Cuernavaca asked the General Indian Court in Mexico City for increased authority to control his unruly residents.[212] His problems stemmed from the fact that free-coloreds and Indian immigrants were living among his Indian constituents and encouraging them to neglect their tribute responsibilities. The governor claimed that some of the people he had jailed had already appealed to the courts for their release, slandering him in the process. [213] The "disquieting" behavior of the "ringleaders of the Indians" threatened local finance and the labor draft to the mines at Taxco,[214] showing that free-coloreds did not belong in the tributary community.

The solution, according to the petition, would be to evict all *mulatos* and *lobos* (people of mixed Indian and African ancestry), along with immigrant Indian workers

[211] AGN, Indios vol. 50, exp. 213, f. 375v.
[212] AGN, Indios 50, exp. 213. When Indian suits also involved free-coloreds, the latter entered a juridical space reserved for matters of Indian justice. Borah, *Justice by Insurance*, 227-255.
[213] AGN, Indios 50, exp. 213, f. 373v.
[214] He refers to the residence of "*algunos indios del pueblo de Coyoacán y algunos mulatos que inquietan, como cabecillas de los naturales*" in the *barrio* of Aguatepec. AGN, Indios 50, exp. 213, f. 373v.

from Coyoacán.[215] These people had attracted the attention of the governor not simply because they were outsiders, but because they disrupted his implementation of royal tribute. The governor wanted to arrest all offending parties, regardless of *calidad*, but he also made arguments that linked delinquency with not belonging. In response, Viceroy Juan de Acuña y Bejarano, Second Marquis of Casa Fuerte, confirmed that those Indians who owed tribute should be arrested, but only by their elected Indian officials. Indian tributary activities thus asserted the cohesion of local Indian government, punishment, finances, and community. The Indian governor also mobilized *calidad*, coupled with the importance of place, to identify those who had sparked the resistance to the formation of a tributary community.

The decision from Mexico City demonstrates that the conflation of free-colored *calidad* and immigrant status was not uniform in the early eighteenth century. In this instance, the influence of birthplace trumped that of black blood. As the case implies, free-coloreds and Indians could coexist near the mines at Taxco without incident, provided they met tribute demands and belonged to families.[216] According to the consulting *fiscal* (most likely experienced administrator Prudencio Antonio de Palacios),[217] those Spaniards, *negros*, *mestizos*, and *mulatos* who were immigrants were known to treat Indians poorly and expose them to "bad customs." These "*mulatos*,

[215] AGN, Indios 50, exp. 213, f. 374.
[216] Patrick Carroll identifies a *mulato* called Miguel de Chabarria who lived in Tepecoacuilco, also near Taxco. He had resided in the Indian village for years, but eventually offended local residents in 1759 when he began to take on Spanish customs. See Patrick Carroll, "Black Aliens and Black Natives in New Spain's Indigenous Communities," in *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times,* ed. Ben Vinson, III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 79-80.
[217] Palacios served in Havana from 1713-1716 as Teniente General y Auditor de Guerra and later as an investigator of corruption among royal officials. In New Spain, he was *fiscal* in civil matters for the Real Audiencia in Mexico, and finally a *consejero* in the Council of the Indies. See Gómez Gómez, *Las visitas*, 110-112.

mestizos, and others of mixed color (*color quebrado*)" in the *barrios* were to return to their towns of origin to pay their taxes.[218]

Evidently, some free-coloreds—especially those who had Indian ancestry—did not display the negative tendencies common in outsiders. The *fiscal* then distinguished unwanted intruders from a group of *mestizos* and *zambaigos* who were "children of Indian women, born among them and heirs to their houses and properties."[219] These subjects had Spanish or Afromexican fathers, but their maternal lineage and property ownership solidified their community membership. Though limited by the seventeenth century, Indian women in central New Spain inherited property and dispensed with it based on Spanish and pre-Colombian traditions.[220] Such connections between property, maternal lineage, and tributary status confirmed, for bureaucrats, that these *mestizos* and *zambaigos* belonged in Cuernavaca. Ideas about family further influenced the outcome of the Indian governor's complaint. "Because it seems a harsh thing to separate them from their parents,"[221] administrators reasoned, those free-coloreds who were "natives" (*nativos*) could stay.

Tribute payments were a record of an individual's place in his or her community and an asserted connection with the place itself. The repeated use of the word "native" to distinguish between those who belonged and those who did not drew clear distinctions of geography and community through acts of tribute. As one historian has argued of early

---

[218] "De donde son nativos." AGN, Indios vol. 50, exp. 213, f. 375.
[219] AGN, Indios vol. 50, exp. 213, f. 375v.
[220] Susan Kellogg, "From Parallel Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenocha Mexica Women, 1500 – 1700," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Gail Wood, and Robert Stephen Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 139.
[221] AGN, Indios vol. 50, exp. 213, f. 375v.

modern people, "by enacting the role of citizen or native they created a public image that they were citizens or natives."[222] In early Bourbon New Spain, paying tribute was part of such a role among Indians and free-coloreds; a person could become "native" in the eyes of authorities and other subjects. Without seeing baptismal certificates, the viceroy's legal counsel believed that certain free-coloreds could be "natives," provided they resided with their parents, were heirs to property, and paid tribute.

"He raised and educated him as a son"[223]: Privilege, Lineage, and Reputation in the Viceregal Capital, 1700-1750

As the Cuernavaca case makes clear, the connection between the tribute register and free-colored *calidad* was contested in the heart of New Spain. By mid-century, a slow trickle of cases that interrogated *calidad* and privilege were arriving in Mexico City.[224] These cases foreshadowed the explosion of debates around *calidad* and tributary status at the end of the century, when collection and registration boomed. Some cases pertained to the service of free-colored militiamen,[225] others to family honor, and a growing number to *calidad*-based confusion in the formation of tribute registers. Especially when male honor was introduced, petitioners denied the automatic connection between tribute and free-colored *calidad*. These petitions ascribed privileges of

[222] Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 4.
[223] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5434, exp. 37, f. 8. This document is badly water damaged, and the case appears not to have been resolved.
[224] Within the scope of this study, only seven cases between 1700 and 1750 reached the courts in Mexico City that pertained specifically to free-colored *calidad*. Beyond the cases themselves, resolutions are also preserved, though they may over-represent success rates.
[225] See Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 132-172.

exemption to people identified as free-colored who had connections to Spain and its minor nobility. Like their ancestors, these men identified themselves as vassals worthy of Crown support, along with their descendants and associates.[226] Under these circumstances, the connections with Spanish ancestors served a similar purpose for American-born people of African descent as well as creoles.

Privilege and lineage were mutually dependent for two *mulatos* who disputed their tributary status in the city of Lerma, a town nine leagues from Mexico City with around 40 Spanish families, 80 Indian families, and 120 families of another *calidad*.[227] In 1744, Antonio López Bolaños and his brother Antonio Miguel presented evidence in an attempt to prove that all of their grandfather's "ancestors and descendants" were exempt from tribute. To this effect, the brothers procured a 1621 real provision from Phillip IV declaring Alonso Lopes, a native of Extremadura in Castile, exempt from tribute. Alonso was a *mulato* born out of wedlock to an *hidalgo* called Lorenzo de Bolaños and a *negra* named María Farxada. Owing to the privileges of his father, Alonso avoided tribute payment and was erased from the register in Mexico City. Witnesses described Antonio Lopes as a legitimate child, and his brother as an *hijo natural*, though Joseph "raised and educated him as a son."[228] Through this education, Antonio Miguel

---

[226] Anthony Pagden, "Identity formation in Spanish America," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicolas P. Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 51-94.

[227] Francisco de Solano, ed., "Jurisdicción de Santa Clara de Lerma" in *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), 130-144. Some witnesses used "*calidad*es" and others "*naciones*" to describe people who were neither Indian nor Spanish.

[228] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5434, exp. 37, f. 8. This document is badly water damaged, and the case appears not to have been resolved.

learned to sign his name, which he did in court documents. His status as a literate man with noble lineage, irrespective of his *calidad*, justified his exemption.

The *alcaldía mayor* of Metepeque, which included Lerma, had become a headache for authorities in Mexico City, as a stream of complaints undermined new tribute registers. Metepeque was never a stronghold of free-colored tribute in the eighteenth century,[229] but information gleaned from the *relaciones geográficas* of the Archbishopric of Mexico in 1743 indicated that more than a handful of potential free-colored tributaries lived in Lerma. Subsequent attempts to include the 120 families reported in the *relación* upset local politics and relationships. Many sought removal, in some cases based on registers made in the distant past.

Local authorities in the 1630s had practiced registration among *mestizos* and castizos, although by law they were exempt from tribute. All non-Indian tributaries had been registered in a single list, precluding accurate caste categorization. The *fiscal* who reviewed the case in Mexico City a century later wondered if the past commissioner of Lerma had done this because he believed *mestizos* to be "of infected blood, as are *mulatos*, *lobos*, *coyotes*, *moriscos*, and others like them."[230] The relationship between the official and his tributary residents was obscured by the 1720s. No one knew why this practice had occurred, or what it said about the current *mestizos* or *mulatos*. Among these conundrums of *calidad*, the Bolaños case was distinctive in its claim to privileges

[229] In 1701, the headtown of Metepeque collected 70 *pesos* from 28 *mulato* tributaries, as well as 17,454 *pesos* from 7,962.5 Indian tributaries. These payments came from both Metepeque itself and its subject towns. See AGI, Contaduría leg. 809. By 1769, Lerma had just 4.5 *mulato* tributaries and 586.5 Indian tributaries. Metepeque, still a headtown, counted its tributaries at 14.5 *mulatos* and 5,828.5 Indians. See: AGI, Mexico leg. 2105. In 1801, only 10 *mulato* tributaries were counted in Lerma. See AGN, Tributos 62, exp. 1.

[230] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5434, exp. 37, 26v.

without exempt *calidad*, and regardless of any local register. The family hoped to bypass this primary site of tribute negotiation using a royal provision.

The Bolaños sons echoed the claims to honor and Spanish privileges cited in the case of Gabriel Fernández de Cabrera and his siblings in Chapter 1. These two unresolved cases used genealogical connections to Spaniards to claim Habsburg tribute privileges, without *calidad*.[231] For these families, some combination of blood, reputation, honor, *calidad*, and upbringing defined tributary status. The attempts by free men of color to maintain identifications with both blackness and tributary exemption met with resistance in Mexico City. While residents in Cuernavaca were allowed to continue their legal status as Indian property holders and family members in that community, the Bolaños brothers relied on—or rebuilt—a more tenuous connection to a Spanish ancestor who lived a century prior to their petition. The combination of the passage of time and the demands of the Bolaños family to live as privileged *mulatos* did not receive the sympathy of Bourbon authorities concerned with preserving Indian families and appeasing communities of tributary laborers.

Collectors, Collection, and Contest

The outcome of collection before the 1760s was highly unpredictable, dependent as it was upon the efforts and strategies of individuals. Figures available from the first half of the century show a small amount of specie reaching royal coffers from small and

[231] Gabriel's case awaited appeal in 1705 and, after their original petition in 1744, the Bolaños case disappears from the record.

large communities. In 1701, a list of headtowns in the Audiencia of Mexico shows that the amounts collected from subject towns and *barrios* varied widely. Large sums were gathered in cosmopolitan centers like Puebla, where *mulatos* paid 336 *pesos* of a 7,436 total in tributes.[232] Other payments for free-coloreds were small, numbering just a few *pesos* in majority-Indian areas like Cholula outside Puebla.[233] As Bourbon authorities gained more knowledge of their tributary territories, extending free-colored tribute provoked opposition and confusion which resulted in new lawsuits and petitions.

The accuracy of a tribute register determined the outcome of the entire venture for a local official, his designated collectors, and his financial backers. A tribute register that identified *calidad* and rates of payment approximated how much tribute would be owed each pay period, often the *tercio*.[234] To pay tributes both Indian and free-coloreds, the *alcalde* borrowed from one or more *fiadores*, who could provide funds until all tributaries had remitted their payments. Labor bosses, guild leaders, masters of servants, and even clergy could collect tribute on behalf of an official. *Alcalde*s then solicited certificates from Mexico stating that payment had been made in full.

Capitalizing on free-colored and Indian communities was an ongoing process that involved not only Spanish and Indian officials, but free-coloreds themselves. Bureaucrats depended on other community members and ecclesiastics who helped carry out collection and compile information. In the second half of the seventeenth century, for example, free-coloreds were employed as collectors of tribute from Indians in Yucatan

[232] AGI, Contaduría leg. 809. The 134 *mulatos* charged paid a total of 336 *pesos*. They were part of a much larger group of 30,772.5 tributaries who paid 7,436 *pesos*. The document is badly water damaged.
[233] AGI, Contaduría leg. 809. Five *mulato* tributaries paid 15 *pesos*, while a total of 3,443.5 tributaries paid 5,681 *pesos* for the entire jurisdiction.
[234] Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 199-202.

and Guatemala.[235] Corporate structures such as guilds and militias also carried out tax collection.[236]

The rise of the free-colored militias at mid-century provides an example of interlocking institutional hierarchies of collection and responsibility in free-colored communities. For failing to collect tributes in 1747, a man called Francisco Reinosa, a lance corporal in the Compañía de Pardos, found himself imprisoned in the Obraje de Peredo in Mexico City.[237] A dispute had arisen between Reinosa and Lieutenant Colonel Miguel Fontís de Pubira, who had given Reinosa the task of collecting on four tribute receipts (*cartas de pago*). Claiming he was paying back a total of twelve *pesos* in weekly installments, Reinosa denounced Fontís de Pubira for reducing him to "the indignity of the *obraje*."[238] Long associated with slavery, the *obraje* was, for Reinosa, a "notorious insult and violation of military rank" in contrast to the "decency" of a jail.[239] In this squabble between militiamen, one officer sullied the reputation of another as punishment for failing in his collection duties. The insults and injuries incurred in this process were linked to reputations and responsibilities within a free-colored community.

Officials—creole, peninsular, and Indian—often failed to pay as well.[240] Those *fiadores* who did not receive their due had the option of suing an *alcalde*, though this process was expensive. Between all the court fees, official papers, and travel costs, some

---

[235] See Restall, *The Black Middle*, 129; and Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 746.
[236] John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 178.
[237] This is likely a location near the Puente de Peredo, where militia barracks were located. See: Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 255.
[238] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5955, exp. 73, f. 1v.
[239] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5955, exp. 73, f. 1.
[240] José María Mariluz Urquijo, *El agente de la administración pública en Indias* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano, 1998), 331-332.

fiadores felt the process proved an unfair financial burden.[241] When *alcalde*s died, their remaining tribute debts passed to their heirs. The Real Hacienda sought out officials who did not pay their expected amount and meted out pecuniary and social punishments. Jail time was not uncommon, though it was particularly uncomfortable for Indian collectors who maintained position and prestige as *caciques*.[242]

Many officials had little incentive to participate in tribute in the early eighteenth century, as it was underpaid and arduous work. Salaries for royal bureaucrats were subject to reduction during wartime. In 1704 and 1709, Philip V reduced salaries by five percent and later by ten percent to cover war expenses until as late as 1727.[243] Throughout the eighteenth century, collectors voiced a common complaint: that free-coloreds had no fixed residence. *Mulato* residences were frequently listed as "unknown" or "uncertain,"[244] in some cases perhaps because local officials had little desire to find them. In other cases, known residences of small populations would yield little for a commissioner's efforts. By the time of the War for Spanish Succession, officials and residents of some of the most lucrative areas of New Spain, such as Zacatecas, had grown used to not participating in free-colored tribute.

Despite multiple difficulties, tribute represented an important site of administrative renaissance in the early Bourbon period. Determined to revive the floundering Habsburg institution and enrich royal coffers, Philip V's advisers in Mexico

---

[241] In Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, *fiador* Don Francisco Bracho demanded 1,011 *pesos* and 2 *tomines* owed by the *alcalde* for tributes from 1739. The *real caja* confirmed that these payments had never arrived, and the ensuing legal proceedings were costly. Bracho provided a certified list of the costs incurred, totaling 47 *pesos*. See AHEZ, Real Hacienda, Judicial c. 13.
[242] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 1240, exp. 11.
[243] Urquijo, *El agente*, 332. These salaries were normalized in 1728.
[244] AGI, Contaduría leg. 809. This excuse is given for Cirándano y Guimeo and other locations in 1701. Much of the document is rendered illegible by water damage.

City and Spain devoted considerable energy to royal tribute. The attention the tax received sheds light on the nature and meanings of community and *calidad* for bureaucrats. In cases that involved female petitioners, blackness could emerge as a condition diminishing the need for gendered privileges. The following tribute document illuminates the use of gender, poverty, and *calidad* as factors mitigating the punishment of two young tributary debtors.

"Better Calidad *and* Condición*:"*[245] *Tribute and Gender in Tenango del Valle*

The next case is a microcosm of the categories, prejudices, laws and customs that constituted free-colored tribute in a town called Tenango del Valle about sixteen leagues from Mexico City. A predominately Indian community with a few free-colored families, Tenango del Valle was part of a local slave trade linked to the Toluca region.[246] Tenango del Valle failed to make free-colored tribute payments throughout the 1720s. When local officials attempted to change this custom, free-colored residents resisted using legal channels. A resulting case in which the court-appointed representative for the poor (*procurador de pobres*) portrayed his *mulata* clients as legal minors (*doncellas*) needing protection from a local zealot quickly became embroiled in the caste- and gender-based confusion of the piecemeal Habsburg tribute regime. State relief was already highly

[245] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 114v.

[246] Slave trading out of Toluca was linked to other commercial centers in mining zones. See Luis Enrique Miranda Nava, *La esclavitud en el Valle De Toluca, 1558-1630* (Toluca de Lerdo, Estado de México: Gobierno del Estado de México, 2010) 48-49. For free-coloreds in the eighteenth century, see for example the marriage contracted in 1722 between Agustin Perez, an eighteen-year-old *mulato* and a *morisca* named María Antonia de la Piedra. The bride to be was sixteen and had come to Tenango del Valle via the town of Coyoacán. The witnesses to the marriage all represented traditionally free-colored occupations: a weaver, a coachman, and a blacksmith. See AGN, Matrimonios vol. 67, exp. 19, f. 82.

dependent upon caste, underpinning the prejudices authorities held against the non-Spanish poor.[247] The court case was built on competing articulations of gendered power, which one historian has recently termed "patriarchy as contest,"[248] entangled with legal minority, caste, and poverty. The language used exposes long-standing suspicions in society towards free persons of color, orphans, unmarried women, people without defined trades or employment, and disobedient subjects. Bureaucrats folded those concerns into their uneasy relationship with local customs and authority.

Rather than side with two poor, young free-colored women lacking community ties, the Bourbon regime strengthened hierarchies of *calidad*. Officials at multiple levels of government reasoned that *mulatas* should not enjoy privileges denied women "superior" in *calidad*, such as those of Indian or Spanish descent. As a result, the two young petitioners were relayed from the civil to the criminal courts.[249] The outcome of the case and its attendant rhetoric confirmed the fundamentally different standing of free-colored women and Indian women vis-a-vis the colonial regime. Free-colored minors were unworthy of specifically gendered privileges, while Indian girls necessitated protection and care from their communities.

In the summer of 1728, sisters Juana de la Encarnación and Sebastiana María of Tenango del Valle found themselves in a desperate situation. More than two months prior they had failed to pay their ten *reales* in royal tribute, resulting in Juana's arrest (*depósito*). Under *depósito*, women were either punished or protected away from prying

[247] Cynthia Milton, *The Many Meanings of Poverty: Colonialism, Social Compacts, and Assistance In Eighteenth-Century Ecuador* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 66.
[248] Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 180.
[249] AGN, Criminal 136, exp. 74, f. 445.

eyes and loose tongues in what was often the rural equivalent of a jail.[250] "Whether sent to a bakery, an *obraje*, or a private household, most women detained for disciplinary reasons were expected to work,"[251] a pattern that underlined the adulthood of the accused. Rural patriarchy and paternalism loomed large in this case, and in local ideas about government in Tenango and the surrounding Toluca Valley.[252] Having lost both of their parents, the two young women had few resources and were "suffering without having anyone to support or maintain them."[253] According to their lawyer, Francisco Manuel Chirlín, the mayor (*alcalde mayor*) had charged the girls without having the right to do so. This petition sparked a discussion specific to a region in which free-coloreds were scarce and their ties to Indians tenuous. Here, free-colored privileges or obligations were not articulated through service, honor, or belonging; this petition focused on the meanings of gender and blackness.

The case piqued the interest of the Real Audiencia in Mexico City once its members realized that this nearby jurisdiction had not charged free-colored tribute for ten consecutive years. Experts in the capital reviewed the case for its legal content, citing the ongoing debate about women's status in the tribute regime. Accountant for tribute Joseph Luis de los Ríos deduced from laws more than a century old that the architects of free-colored tribute had not intended for girls under eighteen to become tributaries,

---

[250] Kanter, *Hijos del Pueblo*, 82. In a specifically female context, this punishment indicated the internment of women in a private house or institution of *recogimiento*. See also: Asunción Larvín, "In search of the colonial woman in Mexico: the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, Asunción Larvín ed. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1978), 35-37.
[251] Martin, *Governance and Society*, 174.
[252] Kanter, *Hijos del Pueblo*, 5.
[253] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 104

reserving this status for married couples, widows and widowers, and unmarried men and women.[254] No girls had appeared on the registers the accountant had in his possession.[255]

The beleaguered mayor of Tenango del Valle, Captain Don Juan Antonio Navarres, admitted his ignorance of the subject. His testimony typified a fatherly concern for residents of his jurisdiction, coupled with frustration at their disobedience. Far from the crazed official portrayed by Sebastiana and Juana's lawyer, the mayor was initially reluctant to charge female minors of any caste. He knew of fewer than twenty *mulato* tributaries and, as a result, he had been "unable to attain any reliable evidence that there was at that time any *mulata* girl of that age, nor if she paid tribute or not."[256] These layers of doubt and ambiguity, which so often characterized the implementation of free-colored tribute at the local level, appear to have created some discomfort for the *alcalde*. He claimed he remembered only that "with some repugnance, I charged ten reales of Salbadora María, *mulata doncella* which she says she is, for tribute in the year of [17]26 and another ten reales for the tribute in said year of the aforementioned Sebastiana María."[257]

His competing motivations lay in the balance of payments within local structures of tribute collection. Captain Navarres had to juggle his paternalistic sensibilities with his financial responsibilities to tribute creditors. He had assumed his post as mayor only to be served with a petition from Don Felipe del Barrio, a miner at Zacualpan and a *fiador*. Navarres's predecessor had died without paying his tribute debts. Don Felipe

[254] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 105.
[255] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 105.
[256] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 112.
[257] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 112.

provided Navarres with a list made by the deceased mayor which detailed "the free *mulatos* and *negros* of this town who had owed him tribute, some of them for five years." Armed with this information, Don Felipe approached the new mayor, "asking [him] to compel the debtors that they pay what they still owed." Discovering Sebastiana María and Juana de la Encarnación on the list of five-year delinquents, Capitan Navarres had little choice. The girls stood firm, responding that "they did not have any [receipt] nor had they paid anything."[258]

Capitan Navarres had to pay his debts, and he "many times" solicited payment from the sisters.[259] He began to feel personally attacked and maligned as the accusations against him multiplied. He resorted to the act of *depósito* so that "by this means the payment could be secured," but it is also clear that he could no longer abide the public defiance of the two young women. He agreed to allow twenty days during which he would let Sebastiana María try to come up with the money. "For this reason," he explained, "I only locked up said Juana in a house where she is very well, and not, as it is supposed, suffering." According to Navarres, the girls also claimed that he was attempting to overcharge them or sell them into slavery, a story they devised "with great maliciousness which is how they normally behave." [260] In the eyes of their mayor, these free-coloreds were an unwelcome presence in a mostly Indian, though to some extent *mestizo* and Spanish, community. Navarres saw free-coloreds as a source of disturbance and defiance that undermined his authority.

---

[258] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 112v.
[259] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 113.
[260] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 113. The girls also accused the Navarres of "asking them for *pesos*" a sum which would have totaled 80 *reales* rather than expected 10.

Presenting himself as a "loyal vassal" of the Crown, Navarres offered his interpretations of age, gender, *calidad* and tributary status. He cited a real provision from 1726 stating that "the Indians who were under the *patria potestad* of their parents did not in the past pay tribute."[261] He went on to quote an earlier decree from Philip II that condemned such exemptions, which discouraged marriage until age twenty-five or thirty.[262] Before they were evangelized, Navarres had heard that the same people would have married as early as age twelve. Some aggravated Indians (the gender and relationships of these relatives is linguistically ambiguous) submitted legal petitions to avoid tribute, "assuring the comfort and protection" of their daughters and sisters.[263] This language vividly portrays the Indian family unit protecting its younger members from the burdens and worries of taxation. Though he identified the presence of *doncella* Indians on the tribute register, they mayor believed that these girls needed protection that *mulatas* did not legally or ideologically deserve.

Like Navarres, the *fiscal* of the Real Audiencia would base his decision on his beliefs about *calidad*, gender, and blackness. Prudencio Antonio de Palacios stated that there was "no reason on which to base the exemption" since "even Indian girls, being of better *calidad* and *condición*, are not exempt from paying, except where there is no custom of it."[264] The *Diccionario de Autoridades* describes *condicón* as "the inclination and disposition of men: and it is said of a person who is calm, open, agreeable, etc. that

[261] "*Patria potestad*" refers to the body of laws and customs that govern the patriarch's authority over his dependents, including his wife, children, servants, and any other legal minors.
[262] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 114 contains the phrase "enjoying this freedom many of the age of twenty-five to thirty years did not marry." This phrase borrows from Libro VI, Título V, Ley VII of *Recopilación.*
[263] AGN, Tributos vol. 33, exp. 13, f. 114.
[264] AGN, Tributos 33, exp. 13, f. 114v.

he is of good condition: and, on the contrary, he who is unyielding, strong, hard, etc. is of bad condition."[265] Being of better "*condición*" implied a wide variety of characteristics, including the differences between nobles and plebeians.[266] It also referred to a free or enslaved status among Afromexicans, as evidenced in population counts in the Valley of Mexico from the mid-seventeenth century.[267] The term could be combined with caste labels in other parts of the Spanish Empire,[268] though this was uncommon in New Spain in the early eighteenth century. The connection with slavery as well as personal disposition allowed administrators to use *condición* to recall the dishonor of slavery and connect its legacy to free-colored women.

Combining terms about personal qualities, the *fiscal* expressed his opinions regarding the negative qualities and nature of free-colored women. He firmly believed that free-colored and Indian women were unequal under the tribute regime. Palacios had experience with this question, having advised Philip V on the matter a year earlier. In the resulting *real cédula* of 1728, the king had decided that it would be best if "Indian *doncellas* were registered, without paying tribute, until they are married,"[269] and that the matter would be decided based on local practice. These hallmarks of femininity—a lack of reason and protection from labor and tax obligations—were inherent in Indian women.

---

[265] Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo II (Madrid: F. del Hierro, 1729).
[266] A secondary definition in the same *Diccionario* defines "*condición*" as "*la naturaleza, calidad y distintivo del nacimiento de los hombres*."
[267] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 3537, exp. 27.
[268] Nicole von Germeten has located a reference to a lawyer, Don Cristóbal Polo de Águila, who was described as being of a "*condición mulato*" in 1765. See Alonso de Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery: Selections from De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute*, trans. Nicole von Germeten (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2008), xii.
[269] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 197.

M*ulatas*, according to administrators, lacked these qualities, demonstrating only the most dishonest and negative aspects of womanhood.[270]

The case brought on behalf of Sebastiana and Juana reached the highest court in New Spain not because of the few *pesos* in dispute, but because the case pertained to a changing way of locating and categorizing free-colored subjects. The salient concerns about the freedoms of movement and economic independence women could possess were deeply rooted in rural cultures of patriarchy as well as bureaucratic discourse. Local administrators did not necessarily want to engage in free-colored tribute, especially when they deemed it incongruous with their experience as patriarchal leaders. These opinions registered in the legal proceedings along with those of mining elites and viceregal lawyers. Bourbon reformers would continue to draw on the "Spanish political culture of bargaining and mutual concessions" in their negotiations with local elites.[271] Because of the lack of agreement between local officials and viceregal bureaucrats, as well as the importance of customary law, free-colored women remained in a kind of tributary limbo. They were of inferior *calidad* and *condición*, but local custom continued to dictate their tributary status in the early eighteenth century.

[270] For a more detailed discussion of the rise of these negative European and American perceptions of African womanhood and sexuality, see: Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 12-49.
[271] J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 11492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 304.

Collection and Registration in Acatlán and Piastla, 1739-1743

The idiosyncrasies of local customs, politics, and interpersonal relationships facilitated or impeded the collection of tribute. Some officials were able to maintain standardized tribute practices that reflected and reinforced a stable tributary community. This stability had multiple meanings, many of which depended on the obligations associated with free-colored caste. Where tributary numbers were high in central Mexico, free-coloreds were well-known in their communities and rarely experienced caste changes within tribute. Furthermore, their communities were portrayed through tribute lists as sharply separated from those of Spaniards, *mestizos*, and other exempt people. Sustained registration in the 1730s and 1740s demonstrated the compliance of local officials and populations with Bourbon projects to gather information and improve taxation.

In Acatlán and Piastla, an area with a large and economically integrated free-colored population at mid-century, collection and registration were highly predictable. Drawing on local resources and relationships, officials in the jurisdiction charged free-coloreds and *indios laboríos* a steady rate of tribute between 1739 and 1743. The registers and receipts from these years recorded the amount collected from the previous year from an individual or couple. The five lists also contain the names, marital statuses, and rates of payment among free-coloreds and *indios laboríos*. The compilation is special in that it preserves the methods administrators used to monitor the payments and registration of individuals in a single area over a continuous period of years. Changes or

consistencies in payments, population, and caste identities are valuable pieces of information not often available in the first half of the century. These documents establish caste and tributary status as stable categories among free-coloreds.

The jurisdiction of Acatlán y Piastla was located about 20 leagues south of the city of Puebla, in what is now the state of the same name. The tribute drawn from this region was made possible largely by its integration into local mining economies. Salt mines at Chiautla and Acatlán and Piastla were closely tied to silver mining operations at Huautla.[272] A steady supply of tribute of specie, and later in labor,[273] allowed for the expansion of *hacienda* and mining activities. In the first half of the century, the jurisdiction of Acatlán and Piastla experienced a dramatic recovery of its previously decimated Mixtec- and Náhuatl-speaking Indian populations. In 1701, no *mulato* tributaries had been reported, but Indians had paid more than a thousand *pesos* in tribute.[274]

By 1743, over two thousand Indian families occupied the jurisdiction.[275] *Mulatos*, blacks, and Spaniards also moved to the area, especially in neighboring Chiautla, where they were involved in cattle and mining operations.[276] These recoveries were not without their periodic drops: this area also experienced the epidemic of *matlazahuatl* which was demolishing populations in Puebla and Mexico City, as well as

[272] Ernesto Sánchez Santiró, "Plata y privilegios: el Real de minas de Huautla, 1709-1821" *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 26, no. 26 (2002): 101.
[273] Santiró, 105. In the 1770s and 1780s, Huautla drew laborers from Chila de la Sal in Acatlán and Piastla.
[274] AGI, Contaduría leg. 809. In Acatlán and Piastla, 547.5 Indian tributaries paid 1098 *pesos.*
[275] Gerhard, *A Guide*, 43. The 1743 register tallied 2,160 families.
[276] Gerhard, *A Guide*, 109.

smaller towns.[277] Viceroys granted tribute relief to *indios de pueblo* in entire towns for particular years, and temporary hardship was sometimes an effective reason for free-coloreds to avoid payment.[278] Tributary numbers dropped in 1741, perhaps due to the temporary relief for some couples during this year.[279]

In spite of recent and ongoing epidemics, rates of payment were standardized and stable among *indios laborío*s and free-coloreds in Acatlán and Piastla. In 1739, Manuel de Orendain, the *alcalde mayor* of the jurisdiction, sent a brief tally to Mexico of the free-colored tributary population and associated payments in his jurisdiction, in compliance with a royal order from 1737. In that year, the nineteen and one half tributaries registered as "free negros and *mulatos*" were required to pay a total of 49 *pesos*.[280] That rate of payment was just slightly over 2.5 *pesos*.[281] Between 1739 and 1743, the rate of payment held at 2.5 *pesos* per tributary (see Table 3). Exogamous couples paid the same 2.5 *pesos* if the couple contained an Indian and a *mulato* partner. Those who married exempt individuals would pay one *peso* and two *tomines*, the equivalent of 1.25 *pesos*. When an

[277] For the specific case, see AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5657, exp. 49. For the surrounding area, see Miguel Ángel Cuenya, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: una mirada en torno al matlazahuatl de 1737* (Puebla, Pue.: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1999); América Molina del Villar, "Las prácticas sanitarias y médicas en la Ciudad de México, 1736-1739" *Estudios del hombre* 20 (2005): 39-58.

[278] Although rare, it was not impossible for free-coloreds to get these temporary exemptions on the grounds of individual poverty. Free *mulato* Balthazar Senteno of Celaya made such a petition in 1714. See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 6627, exp. 37. Widows also mobilized these arguments, but usually to gain permanent exemption.

[279] For example, among the 17 couples that were entered identically across three different years only three appeared in 1741. The summary from this year did not attribute the change in population to any specific effect of epidemics or tribute policy, and the lack of payments from 1741 could also be due to delinquency.

[280] AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28 f. 273.

[281] Following the steady rate used in the following years, 19.5 tributaries would have paid 48 *pesos* and 6 *tomines* in total. An extra two *tomines* might have been collected in back payments or can be attributed to clerical error.

indio laborío or a free-colored person married an *indio de pueblo*, rates of payment remained at 2.5, although this combination was exceptionally rare in the sample.

Table 3. *Combined Free-colored and Laborío Tribute Collected in Acatlán and Piastla for the years 1739 to 1743*

Year	Total Tributaries	Total Paid	Avg. per Tributary
1739	47	117.5	2.5
1740	52	130	2.5
1741	42	105	2.5
1742	56	140	2.5
1743	61.5	153.75	2.5
Totals	258.5	646.25	2.5

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

Following the 1737 assessment, local officials compiled and certified five lists for the years 1739 and 1743 comprising 340 entries. A total of 230 records contain one or more free-coloreds, many of whom were registered and paid for multiple years. Another 56 records do not mention free-coloreds, but pertain to *indios laborío*s. For the remaining 54 records, castes are rendered partially or totally illegible by water damage, though rates of payment were discernible or possible to approximate. Allowing for expected errors due to illegible entries, these lists contain more than six hundred individuals of free-colored, Indian, and exempt castes.

In this period, free-colored tribute was a steady tax base for local officials. Free-coloreds paid an average of fifty *pesos* every year as a group, though amounts went up across the board in 1743. In this year, tribute from endogamous and unmarried free-coloreds did become a greater portion of the overall tribute paid, but the small increase can also be attributed to higher numbers of unknown tributaries in 1740, 1741, and 1742.

Overall, free-colored tributaries proved a steady, dependable source of income. In fact, free-colored individuals amounted to a greater portion of the tax monies still. The numbers in Table 4, which follow those compiled by the *alcalde*, do not count free-coloreds who married exogamously. Couples that included at least one free-colored member amounted to a further 37.5 *pesos* in 1739, 31.25 *pesos* in 1740, 27.5 *pesos* in 1741, 36.25 *pesos* in 1742 and the same amount in 1743. When combined, all tributaries containing free-coloreds paid more than seventy percent of the total *laborío* and free-colored tribute over the five years.

Table 4. *Free-colored Tribute in Acatlán and Piastla, 1737-1743*

Year	Free-coloreds Only[a]	Tribute Paid	Percentage of all Tribute
1737	19.5	49	
1739	20	50	42.6%
1740	20	50	38.5%
1741	15.5	38.75	36.9%
1742	19	47.5	33.9%
1743	27	67.5	43.9%
Totals	121	302.5	46.8%

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

[a]This total includes all unmarried and endogamous free-coloreds

Throughout all five years, free-colored individuals made up about half of the sample (see Table 4). Little information is given about these people beyond a first name or caste. Carlos de la Cruz and Paula Gerónima, both *mulatos*, were married before 1739 and remained together through 1743, paying their joint tribute of two *pesos* and four *tomines* each year. References to free or enslaved status were rare: A *soltero*, Pedro Martin, was listed as a *mulato libre* in 1743, and an unnamed woman was referred to as

"a slave" without a specific caste. All Afromexicans on the register were called *mulatos*, even though the *alcalde*'s description referenced "*negros* and *mulatos*." Depending on the year, 14 to 26 percent of the sample was Indian, and 13 to 15 percent exempt. Among these, none were Spanish, though the unnamed wife of a *mulato* called Juan Marcos de los Reyes was described as a *castiza*. Finally, *indios de pueblo* are conspicuously absent. Only in 1743 did *mulato* Matteo Antonio register with his unnamed Indian wife who was "recorded in her place,"[282] a phrase implying she was also recorded on the list of *indios de pueblo*. All other Indians lacked any evidence of being *indios de pueblo*. The language on the register shows a lack of specificity regarding both Indians and free-coloreds, because officials thought these distinctions unimportant for their purposes of collection. *Indios de pueblo*, *laborío*s, and free-coloreds all paid the same rate of tribute, and their specific identities were of less concern than was their money.

Table 5. *Number of Individuals on Tribute Registers by Caste, 1739-1743*

Year	All Individuals	Free-coloreds	Indians	Exempt individuals	Percent Free-colored	Percent Indian	Percent Exempt
1739	110	62	29	16	56.4%	26.4%	14.5%
1740	121	60	19	17	49.6%	15.7%	14.0%
1741	97	48	14	13	49.5%	14.4%	13.4%
1742	129	60	28	17	46.5%	21.7%	13.2%
1743	145	78	35	22	53.8%	24.1%	15.2%
Total	602	308	125	85	51.2%	20.8%	14.1%

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

[282] AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28 f. 162v.

To maximize efficiency and collection, officials in Acatlán and Piastla sought out married couples of legal majority with the ability to present payment. Married people, once located, represented greater returns. At the same time, married couples may have had fewer opportunities to avoid payment. Children and property restricted mobility, and artisans maintained other relationships they did not want to jeopardize through refusal to pay. Though free-coloreds had begun to marry at steady rates, decreasing illegitimacy in the eighteenth century,[283] these figures favor married couples disproportionately (see Table 6). Of the 517 tributary individuals in the sample, 230 were married men and another 209 were married women.

These lists were not explicitly concerned with future tributaries, concentrating instead on actual amounts of tribute received year to year. This subpopulation, as local officials defined it in Acatlán and Piastla, did not include children and adolescents, married minors, or anyone absent from his or her home. Anyone unable to pay was of little interest to *alcalde* Manuel de Orendain, but who exactly could pay was not restricted by caste or gender.

General trends in the tributary population on these registers do not reveal an obvious preference for recording male names (see Table 6). Only about half of the individual names recorded on the selected tribute registers were male. Another 45.5percent were female, and the rest indeterminate. The high rate of marriage contributed to the gender parity, and so too did the relative absence of unmarried men, especially in 1739-1742. It is unlikely that these low numbers were accurate, given the opportunities for work in ranching or mining.

[283] Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers,* 129 and 163.

Table 6. *Marital Statuses of Tributary and Exempt Castes, 1739-1743*

Year	Married Men	Married Women	Unmarried Women	Unmarried Men	Unknown Half	Exempt Men	Exempt Women	Total
1739	45	39	1	6	3	7	9	110
1740	45	42	3	7	7	7	10	121
1741	38	37	1	6	2	6	7	97
1742	46	45	4	7	10	8	9	129
1743	56	46	5	14	2	6	16	145
Total	230	209	14	40	24	34	51	602

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

The demography of this tributary population showed efforts on the part of officials to maintain their tributary numbers and to increase them by a little less than one-third from 1739 to 1743 (see Table 7). To accomplish this, the *alcalde* and his collectors focused on unmarried individuals and men whose wives were not tributaries. Because of these efforts, the tributary population of unmarried males more than doubled among the combined group of free-coloreds and *laborío*s (see Tables 4 and 5). This population was probably mobile and targeted periodically for registration at mines and haciendas. The handful of unmarried women also increased in this period, from just one *soltera* to an additional *soltera* and a widow, plus others of unspecified marital status. None of these women were Indians, echoing the laws, customs, and opinions of other jurisdictions. Perhaps Manuel de Orendain believed, like others of his time, that Indian women were fundamentally different from *mulatas*, who possessed tributary qualities.

Table 7. *Rates of Population Change, 1739-1743*

Year	Married Men	Married Women	Unmarried Women	Unmarried Men	Exempt Men	Exempt Women	Total
1739-1742	2.2%	15.4%	300.0%	16.7%	14.3%	0.0%	17.3%
1742-1743	21.7%	2.2%	25.0%	100.0%	-25.0%	77.8%	12.4%
1739-1743	24.4%	17.9%	400.0%	133.3%	-14.3%	77.8%	31.8%

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

Why exactly the tributary numbers fluctuated when they did is unclear, but the year 1743 was one of concerted, notable expansion by officials. Excluding the anomalous year of 1741 allows us to see the overall trend more clearly. The year 1743 showed marked gender differences from the previous four years. Collection increased significantly among all free-colored and Indian men. Men who married exempt women also increased in numbers at a rate of more than 75 percent (see Table 7). Previously shielded from tributary status by their wives' castes, free-colored and *laborío* husbands to *mestizas* were no longer excused from payment. In contrast, the number of tributary women who had exempt husbands dropped. For example, Agustina María, an Indian, and her *mestizo* husband paid a half rate every year between 1739 and 1742, then withdrew from the 1743 register. Populations of tributary women expanded at slower rates or not at all from 1742 to 1743, indicating that officials either began to take a more gender-specific view of collection or that this group was more difficult to track and charge.

This gradual expansion evident in the previous three tables relied on collection from the same individuals over a period of successive years. Officials who compiled lists of tributaries were unlikely to start from scratch each time they did so, meaning that an initial point of contact between tributary and officials might determine tributary status for years to come. The repetition of names from the 1739 register across all five lists suggests this pattern. Almost two-thirds of all the records, more than two hundred, appear on multiple lists (see Table 8). And 85 percent of the records made in 1739 were repeated in subsequent years. In essence, the *alcalde* instructed his collectors to charge

the same individuals who were tributaries in 1739 in subsequent years. Illegible names prevent a totally accurate reading of this pattern, and it is possible that even more people were registered more than once. Of the 269 names that are discernible on all the lists, more than half are made up by names from 1739 that were recorded four or five times. These patterns confirm the preference to charge the same people each year, and the overall goal of stability and maintenance on the part of officials.

Information from the 1739 list often transposed directly onto other lists, even when the entries were less than specific. Some names can only be followed by one spouse, as was the case of free *mulato* Diego Salbador who was recorded alongside a *mulata* referred to five times as simply "his wife." Four times Antonio Martin appeared with "a slave" whose specific caste is not defined nor is her name given. Narcisa María, a *mulata*, was recorded four times for her marriage to a *mestizo* whose name never appears. The absence of these names points to two possibilities. First, the spousal name was absent on the 1739 register, and no one undertook the responsibility to find these names out later. Another possibility is that these individuals were well known in their community as tributaries and as free-coloreds.

Table 8. *Repeated Registration, 1739-1743*

Year	Total Records	Repeated Records	Percent of Total
1739	60	51	85.0%
1740	69	44	63.8%
1741	53	36	67.9%
1742	75	42	56.0%
1743	83	50	60.2%
Totals	340	223	65.6%

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

Individuals who were recorded multiple times were more likely to be married, reflecting the general trend of the tributary population. Most married couples appeared multiple times on the registers, reflecting their repeated contact with local agents of the Crown. Unmarried people experienced these interactions more sporadically and were usually charged only once (see Table 8). This pattern accounts for some of the variability discussed earlier between the years 1742 and 1743, when officials likely sought to expand tributary numbers by registering and charging solteros. Most of these additions were free-coloreds like *soltero* Lucas Tenorio Rodríguez who joined the tributary population in 1743. Repeated records of unmarried women were even less common. The only single woman recorded on all lists was María Rosa, a *mulata* and a *soltera*. Another *mulata*, Josepha Escamilla, was widowed by 1742 from her Indian husband Juan de la Cruz. She was the only individual identifiable in this set whose marital status changed over the course of the three years.

Table 9. *Repetition of Tributary Names Across Five Registers, 1739-1743*

Number of Lists	Couples[a]	Unmarried
5	11	2
4	19	2
3	17	1
2	5	5
1	27	19
Total[b]	79	29

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28
[a]Includes married whole and half tributaries
[b]An additional 71 records were illegible

Repetition brings into focus both the extent of payment compliance and the links free-coloreds and *laborío*s formed through marriage. The total numbers of repeated

records of marriages between castes (exogamous) and within castes (endogamous) were remarkably similar (see Tables 9 and 11). Officials had a better chance of charging the same endogamous couples multiple times. These results can be discerned by comparing the mean number of records that appeared each year for different subpopulations. On average, 23 exogamous couples appeared on a register per year. In comparison, an average of 17.8 records contained exogamous couples who paid in multiple years. This mean of repeated records (17.8) was significantly lower than the expected mean (23) for this subpopulation ($p<.01$). This was true among marriages between free-coloreds and Indians, as well as *mestizos*.

The case was different for repeated endogamous records, whose yearly average was statistically comparable to the mean number of endogamous records each year. These distinct phenomena demonstrate that, though the total numbers of exogamous and endogamous records were nearly equal, the exogamous couples avoided payment on other occasions. The behavior of the data points to the benefits of exogamous marriage for tributaries who wanted to avoid registration and collection. Exogamous couples either refused to pay their taxes, or they went unnoticed or unaccounted for by tribute collectors.

Table 10. *Repeated Records as a Percent of Total Endogamous and Exogamous Couples*

Year	Repeated Endogamous	Total Endogamous	Percent of Total Endogamous	Repeated Exogamous	Total Exogamous	Percent of Total Exogamous
1739	23	25	92%	21	24	88%
1740	19	21	90%	17	22	77%
1741	13	16	81%	17	18	94%
1742	20	23	87%	17	24	71%
1743	25	31	81%	17	27	63%
Total	100	116	86%	89	115	77%

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

Changes to caste were unlikely in this sample. These lists show only a few examples of the kinds of caste changes observed in Robert McCaa's classic study as well as recent work.[284] Such changes presented challenges and benefits to Afromexicans who chose or were forced to take on a new caste identification. The tribute registers of Acatlán and Piastla at mid-century offer just a few identifiable examples of caste changes among the tributary population. *Mulatos* and Indians who married exogamously could experience changes to their own identities based on a partner's caste, whether that was tributary or non-tributary. Such couples sometimes left the list, but, very rarely, they became an endogamous couple. This was the case for the three couples in the sample whose caste fluctuated over the five years (see Table 11).

When Juan Carrion first paid royal tribute for 1739 along with his wife, a *mulata* named Lorena Gertrudis, he was an *indio laborío*. By 1742, though he paid the same 2.5 *pesos* in annual tribute, Juan became a *mulato*. This move did not affect the overall number of tributaries nor the amount collected in that year. It was either the will of Juan

[284] See McCaa, "Calidad, Clase, and Marriage," 477-501; and Jake Frederick, "Without Impediment: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Colonial Mexico" *The Americas* 67, no. 4 (2011): 495-515.

Carrion to alter his tributary status or the preference of an official or scribe for endogamy. These changes were not exclusive to any particular year, caste, or gender. In 1740, Melchora changed from a *mulata* tributary to an Indian, matching the caste of her husband Geronimo Miguel. These examples of caste movement suggest a preference for endogamy within tribute. Tributaries or officials could have any number of reasons for maintaining endogamy, though they would not have hinged on rates of payment. Though irrelevant for counting or collecting, endogamy maintained a social order of caste that assuaged elite anxieties. At the same time, tributaries had their own reasons to preserve their personal, genealogical, and community caste identities. Based on these motivations, the shift from exogamous to endogamous couple was equally possible for individuals of both tributary castes.

Table 11. *Caste Fluctuation in Three Couples, 1739-1743*

Year	Juan Carrion	Lorenza Gertrudis	Diego Felipe	Manuela María	Geronimo Miguel	Melchora
1739	*Indio*	*Mulata*	*Mulato*	India	*Indio*	*Mulata*
1740	*Indio*	*Mulata*	(None)	(None)	*Indio*	India
1741	*Indio*	*Mulata*	*Mulato*	India	*Indio*	India
1742	*Mulato*	*Mulata*	*Mulato*	India	*Indio*	India
1743	*Mulato*	*Mulata*	*Indio*	India	*Indio*	India

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28

Despite this handful of examples, the norm was caste constancy in this population. Endogamy and exogamy were both popular; exogamous marriages reached at least 47 and endogamous numbered at least 41 (see Table 12). Another 33 castes were illegible or absent. The rate of endogamy among *mulatas*, in this case at least 69 percent, suggests that for these women caste was an important, but not completely dominant,

factor in marriage choice.[285] Among the *laborío* tributary group, however, women were less exclusive at just over 40 percent. The most endogamous group was Indian men, who chose Indian partners more than 70 percent of the time. Finally *mulato* men showed nearly the same numbers of exogamous (n=31) and endogamous (n=29) marriages. The only exempt partners available were *mestizos*, *mestizas*, and one *castiza*. The most common combination of exempt women and tributary men was that of *mulato* and *mestiza*, a pattern that is also common in the eighteenth-century literature.[286] In short, this population does not show any efforts to drive tributary numbers up or down through marriage choices.

Table 12. *Marriage Patterns among Caste-constant Couples, 1739-1743*

Caste	*Mulata*[a]	*India*	*Mestiza*[b]	Unknown[c]	Totals
Mulato	29	12	19	0	60
Mestizo	9	3	0	0	12
Indio	3	12	1	1	17
Unknown	1	2	0	30	33
Totals	42	29	20	31	122

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 46, exp. 28
[a]Includes one slave of unknown caste
[b]Includes one *castiza*
[c]Includes one *reservada* of unknown caste

The result of the efforts and decisions of local officials was the maintenance of a profitable and stable tax base determined by caste. Many free-colored and Indian tributaries acquiesced to these predictable tax demands, perhaps to maintain their business, family, residence, or social standing. These decisions and compromises joined those of local officials, whose assessments of individual identities cemented caste and

[285] María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez, *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2006), 230.
[286] Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 128.

tributary categories year after year. Each official act of creating and maintaining, or changing and removing, various records culminated in the establishment of a local tributary community. Tributary labels often remained unchanged in this five-year period. Officials preferred to leave things as they had been since 1739, making less work for themselves and allowing tribute to have a tolerable impact on the local population.

Another striking feature that would contribute to the stability of tributary numbers was the lack of Spanish men and women. Without the influence of their genealogy or status, current tributaries would produce offspring who were also tributary. The tributary population would thus grow and expand as a factor of normal population growth, without the potential disruption of exempt children. These lists were a record of the stability and predictability of the tributary population of Acatlán and Piastla, where free-coloreds regularly paid taxes and assumed tributary identities.

The impact of these local ideas about tributary status and caste can be traced through the submission of these lists to Mexico City, and the movement of local bureaucrats into other posts. Following his tenure as *alcalde* of this jurisdiction, Manuel de Orendain continued his career in the capital working for the royal mint in the capital. As *fundidor mayor* for more than three decades, Manuel de Orendain submitted periodic accounts of the gold, silver, and copper arriving there.[287] He would later become a member of the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*.[288] His contact with high levels of the viceregal bureaucracy, his participation in the Amigos del País, and his pedestrian interactions with local residents of Acatlán and Piastla created of a wide

[287] AGN, Real Hacienda Casa de Moneda vol. 119, exp. 8.
[288] María Cristina Torales Pacheco, *Ilustrados en la Nueva España: los socios de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* (México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2001), 288.

network of individuals and institutions. His career provides an example of the networks of power in taxation that was central in the collection of *alcabala* in Puebla.[289] Manuel de Orendain became an expert in the evaluation of accounts at the royal mint, where he also brought along his personal notions about free-coloreds and their obligations to the Crown. The movements of varied functionaries throughout the bureaucracy meant that ideas about tribute and *calidad* permeated multiple levels of government. Officials like Orendain formed part of a Bourbon movement toward administrative and fiscal efficiency that culminated at the end of the century.

Conclusions

Tributary registration and collection represented local points of contact between Afromexican individuals and families, residents of other castes, and agents of the colonial regime. Like marriage and baptism, tribute recorded and reinforced caste categories and burgeoning ideas about *calidad* in the early eighteenth century. Tribute collection was distinct in its immediate, quantifiable consequences for free-coloreds, combined with the genealogical and reputational effects that tributary status created. From *haciendas* to small towns to the capital, tribute mapped local and imperial belonging through payment and registration.

The first half of the century showed the beginnings of reforms to free-colored tribute, especially with regard to gender. Early Bourbon governments showed interest in

[289] Yovana Celaya Nández, *Alcabalas y Situados: Puebla en el sistema fiscal imperial, 1638-1742* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2010).

reinterpreting, rather than replacing, Habsburg fiscal bureaucracy.[290] When Philip V delineated his preference for registering Indian girls before marriage, he foreshadowed the late-Bourbon practice of expanding tribute registers to include even those who should not pay (young children, widows, invalids, etc.). At the same time, the king preserved the previous decrees of the seventeenth century exempting Indian women from payment.[291]

The enduring focus on *limpieza de sangre*, a genealogical building block for tributary status, allowed for the repeated use of the same tribute registers. In Acatlán and Piastla, the recycling of tributaries pointed to the logic of genealogical tributary status, and the stability of tributary community. In sharp contrast, the small *mulato* populations of Lerma and Tenango del Valle struggled to avoid what they felt was the unfair imposition of taxes as a new regime underwent fiscal reform. Without denying their blackness, complainants in these two communities defined themselves in gendered terms, whether as honorable men or impoverished women. Petitioner Antonio López Bolaños associated himself with direct peninsular lineage, which brought imperial privileges unavailable to most residents of New Spain.

The cases of free-coloreds who claimed tribute privileges formed part of a wider discussion about direct taxation, reform, and privilege in New Spain that would, in subsequent decades, profoundly influence reform projects throughout the empire.[292] The tribute regime was a forum for consideration of obligation and status, family and blood,

---

[290] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 25. For examples outside New Spain, see Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Kingdom of Quito, 1690-1830: The State and Regional Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 191; and Christopher Storrs, "Felipe V: Caesura or Continuity?" 9-22.
[291] Libro VI, Titulo III, Ley XIX, *Recopilación.*
[292] Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire*, 55-57.

gender and honor that placed free-coloreds within a discourse of *calidad*. Free-colored ideas and arguments informed *calidad* through local relationships with their officials and through the legal process. At the same time, these two channels also imposed *calidad* as a construct to limit the potential for free-colored self-definition and to control what the Bourbon regime viewed as a discrete community of taxpayers.

The first two chapters of this dissertation have asserted that geography played a primary role in the early Bourbon agenda of reviewing and refashioning standing tribute policy. At the margins of control for bureaucrats in the capital, mining communities entered into dialogue and negotiated with Mexico City to determine tributary practices. Closer to New Spain's major cities of Mexico and Puebla, the consequences for opposing tribute payments and registration were greater, for both officials and free-colored subjects. As Bourbon bureaucrats gained ground, they began to envision a system of recording and collecting that would be applicable across New Spain. The experiences from the frontiers and the central valleys contributed to the process by which Bourbon reformers tracked tributary subjects and defined the obligations of blackness after 1765.

Chapter 3

Mapping Community on the Free-colored Tribute Register

Bourbon reformers used tribute documents to track the genealogical, spatial, social, and occupational characteristics of free-coloreds, constituting them as a distinct community. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a *padrón* from the city of Celaya recorded the name of Petrona Palacios, a free-colored woman better known as "The Pigeon" ("*La Pichona*"), sister of "*El Pichón*" the bullfighter.[293] These aliases related two family members in the absence of information concerning their whereabouts, parentage, or provenance. Tribute registers were repositories of local knowledge directed toward viceregal goals. Once they had gathered information available to community members, men commissioned to make these registers transmitted nicknames like the affectionate "The Donkey" ("*El Burro*") and the unusual "Let's Eat" ("*Bamos comiendo*") to the capital in an effort to increase the colonial regime's power to define its subjects and expand its treasury.[294] Commissioners received or sought out aliases and other information as part of a process that ensured tributaries would be recognizable to future officials collecting tribute and creating registers. The register also became a bridge between the local and the viceregal, allowing bureaucrats in the capital to analyze local knowledge in the form of quantitative data.

---

[293] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31.

[294] For José "El Burro" Gómez, see AGN, Padrones, vol. 51, exp. 133. For Josef Antonio "Bamos comiendo" Rodríguez of Rosario, see Benito Ramírez Meza, "Matrícula y retasa de tributarios del Real de Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Real del Rosario, abril de 1774," in *Clío* 6, no. 22 (1998): 193.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore reforms to tribute and their implementation across the Kingdom of New Spain, and the far-northern mining community of Rosario, from 1767 to 1805. In total, the quantitative data gained from a variety of *padrones* cover eighteen regions and encompass more than 14,000 people. The chapter argues that connections between family members were the guiding principle for reformers as they expanded tributary registration. In this way, the tribute regime adopted the focus on family units in Spanish imperial policy enacted under minister of the Indies José de Gálvez (1720-87).[295] The first section makes clear the reasoning behind linking tributaries together by familial and marital relationships on tribute registers. Next, the chapter discusses the administrative reforms that made possible a rapid expansion of the tributary population of both Indians and free-coloreds. Finally, the chapter shows the influence of mobility and stability on free-colored tribute registers, taking the case of Puebla de los Ángeles as an example. Though local officials, high-ranking bureaucrats, and ordinary people contested reforms to tribute, the result of these reforms was a greater degree of standardization and higher yields in revenue. Bourbon reformers developed specific instruments to improve methods of counting individuals, thereby increasing the number of taxable subjects and forcing more families into a monetized economy.

Many commissioners and officials saw Afromexican communities, enslaved or free, as a web of interconnected families and individuals stretching across multiple households.[296] This attitude is exemplified in the constant use of language identifying

[295] Allyson M. Poska, "Babies on Board: Women, Children and Imperial Policy in the Spanish Empire," *Gender & History* 22, no. 2 (August 2010): 270.
[296] For an example from an inventory of slaves described based on their social ties to each other, see Brígida von Mentz, "Esclavitud en centros mineros y azucareros novohispanos. Algunas propuestas para el

unmarried people in tribute records: "son of," "sister of," and so on (see Table 13). "Widow of" and "brother-in-law of" or "stepson" might be used, and one long-absent couple in Zacualpan was described as "in the company of their father-in-law."[297] These people were not lone individuals, but parts of a larger system of taxation based on their genealogies, social connections, and economic circumstance. The wider these tributary nets were cast within and across communities, the more towns and regions became characterized by the presence of free-colored tributary subjects.

Table 13. *Phrases Relating Free-coloreds by Blood, 1774-1807*

Phrase	*Hijo(s) de*[a]	*Hija(s) de*	*Hermano de*	*Hermana de*	Others[b]	Total
Number of records	590	44	129	9	2	774
Percent of total	76.2%	5.7%	16.7%	1.2%	0.3%	100.1%[c]

Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 8 exp. 1; I.V. caja 5555, exp. 31; Tributos vol. 51, exp. 6; Tributos vol. 40, exp. 11; Tierras vol. 1550 exp. 1; Registers vol. 9 exp. 3; Registers vol. 50, exp. 203; Registers vol. 47, exp. 363; Registers vol. 106, exp. 15; I.V. caja 1676, exp. 1; I.V. caja 6078, exp. 1; Registers vol. 49, exp. 227 I.V. caja 4038, exp. 13; Registers vol. 51, exp. 133; I.V. caja 315, exp. 5; Provincias Internas vol. 247, exp. 16, published in *Clío* 6(22); Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Puebla, Rollos 43 and 44.

[a]Includes one record that contains both "*hermano de*" and "*hijo de*"; and five records that contain females.

[b]Refers to instances of "*nieto de*" and "*sobrina de*."

[c]Total exceeds 100 due to rounding.

Reformers and commissioners fixated on orphans and unmarried individuals whose networks were not already apparent from their dependency on a head of household. Despite its attention to children in households, the tribute register should not be considered a true population census. Legal minority and gender remained the sources

---

estudio de la multietnicidad en el centro de México," in *Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México*, ed. María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez and Ethel Correa Duró (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2005), 259-280.

[297] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 315, exp. 5.

of frequent debate throughout the eighteenth century: occasionally collection from women was suspended while attorneys and accountants reviewed the various contradictory laws that had piled up.[298] Tribute prioritized the family unit as a source of income and often omitted individuals, such as unmarried women, whose tributary status was uncertain.

Viceregal bureaucrats used tributary status to break down the populous using only two markers, a necessity for improving administration. Eliminating the distinctions between the *calidad* of *morenos* and *mulatos* within tribute, authorities contained proliferating groups of *castas* who had differing amounts of Indian, African, and European blood. Some of these distinctions remained meaningful for free-coloreds in other institutions,[299] but tribute nearly always relied on just one free-colored caste, that of the *mulato*. Out of the sample of more than 14,000 people, less than one percent (n=14) contain an Afromexican who was not a *mulato*. Thousands more had no *calidad* specified at all beyond those listed in the title of the register itself. Within the tribute regime, the preference for a single designation uniting all free-coloreds overwhelmed any investment individuals may have had in their specific *calidad* labels. The lack of attention to specificities of *calidad* on tribute registers points to the need for increased efficiency, streamlining, and digestion of information for an audience less familiar with an intricate local vocabulary.

The titles of registers themselves reflected the diversity of terms subsumed under free-colored tribute. The terms "*mulato*," "*moreno*," and "*pardo*," used to describe

[298] AGI, Mexico leg. 2103. For example, a suspension occurred between 1731 and 1747.
[299] See Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 206-207; and Twinam, "Purchasing Whiteness," 156.

people of mixed ancestry, frequently appeared in the titles of Bourbon tribute registers. "*Negro libre*" ("free black") was less common, reflecting demographic trends as well as a growing preference for the more euphemistic "*pardo*."[300] In the coastal region of Cozamaloapa in 1806, a commissioner created a town register of "*morenos*, *pardos*, and *chinos*," a word which may have derived from African and Asian captives who arrived in the port of Acapulco. In San Juan Tenochtitlán, part of Mexico City, a register counted "the *pardos* who were found in the guilds of the capital." And an undated register from Celaya listed the "free *negros* and *mulatos*" of the city and its jurisdiction. The tribute regime built upon standing vocabularies of caste and *calidad* and reinforced Bourbon ideas about the qualities of being poor or wealthy, Spanish or *casta*.[301] By subsuming labels of caste and *calidad*, tributary status became a hybrid of characteristics from many social and legal categories, much like *calidad* itself.

Reform and Renewal

Free-colored tribute was not a newfangled invention concocted in the laboratories of the Enlightenment. Rather, the Bourbons inherited a morass of laws and customs pertaining to an imperial tax administered across time and space with little continuity. The efforts on the part of Bourbon reformers to better manage and define free-colored

[300] Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita, "Denominaciones raciales en archivos locales," in Naveda Chávez-Hita, ed., *Pardos, Mulatos y Libertos: Sexto Encuentro de Afromexicanistas* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2001), 195-206.

[301] Tribute registers in New Spain and Peru contain what María Elena Martínez, contends are the most common caste names (Indian, Spanish, black, *mestizo*, *mulato*, *castizo*, *morisco*, *zambaigo*) as well as *lobo*, *coyote*, *pardo*, *moreno*, and *chino* for eighteenth century. See Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 166.

tribute resulted in valuable data on the scope and location of free-colored communities. This information would assist in the eventual collection of small amounts of tribute, but it was also crucial to a larger project of extending state administrative control for its own sake. Upon completing his *visita* of 1765-1771, Gálvez expressed concern that royal tributes did not represent the single greatest source of income for the Royal Treasury. Gálvez wrote that Indians, free *negros* and *mulatos*, and other *castas* "should pay [tribute] in recognition of their vassalage, and of the kind protection that the greatest and most pious monarch in the world provides them."[302]

Ordinary people usually expressed their distaste for tribute reform in the courts, but violent uprisings were not unknown. In New Spain, rebellions sprang up in 1766 and the following year in mining regions. Free-colored tribute played a role in the unrest in Valladolid in those years, when rumors circulated that rates of payment might change and that *pardo* tributaries would no longer be refunded if overcharged. To assuage these fears, the mayor agreed to a written request on behalf of the free *pardos* that these laws be publicly read and followed.[303] Though it hindered the implementation of reforms, this limited violence never posed a serious threat to the long-term administration of tribute. Gálvez ordered harsh punishment, including public execution, for hundreds of those who had participated in the rebellions.[304]

From his post as Minister of the Indies (1776-87), Gálvez later oversaw one of the largest wholesale changes to the Spanish Empire: the Intendancy System in New Spain.

---

[302] Marino, "El afán de recaudar," 67.
[303] Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, *Nueva Ley y Nuevo Rey: Reformas Borbónicas y rebelión popular en Nueva España* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996) 163-164.
[304] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 27.

These controversial transformations at the highest levels of government, which installed new peninsular leadership in American administrative posts, were not reflected at the local level.[305] Within the Royal Treasury, the Ordinance of Intendants (1786) restructured the responsibilities of individual branches, their organization, and their modes of accounting.[306] These administrative changes placed tribute at the center of multiple discussions of the problems with colonial rule and strategies for enriching the empire. The ordinance reevaluated militia privileges, reinforced bureaucratic separation between castes, attempted to create a standard rate of taxation, and introduced new methods and challenges to tribute.

The Ordinance of Intendants proposed a new system of counting that eliminated the half-tributary category among unmarried men and exogamous couples. This measure would supposedly stop discouraging tributaries from marrying, but imposition of a single tax rate met with opposition from the treasury.[307] In spite of the Ordinance, local officials assigned specific values to each half of the married couple.[308] A register of "Indians, *mulato*s, and other individuals of tributary caste," from the mining region of Zacualpan, charged married Indian couples eighteen *reales*, and married *mulato* couples twenty, although a *mulato* half-tributary paid twelve *reales* rather than ten. The system became more complex for exogamous couples, who were counted each at the same rate as a half-tributary and then added together. The scribe noted that, "the *mulato* married to an

[305] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 33-34 and 76.
[306] Jáuregui, *La Real Hacienda*, 98-99.
[307] Rafael García Pérez, "El régimen tributario en las intendencias novohispanas: la Ordenanza para la formación de los autos de visitas, padrones y matrículas de Revillagigedo II," *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho* 11-12 (2000): 282-283.
[308] Hamnett, *Politics and Trade*, 65.

Indian pays twenty-one *reales*, twelve for himself and nine for his wife."[309] In contrast, an Indian man married to a *mulata* paid the same rate of twenty-one *reales*, contributing nine for himself and twelve for his wife.[310] The Cuatepec practice demonstrates the prevalence of local interpretations of tribute even into the late eighteenth century.

In 1788, the judges of the Royal Treasury ruled that enforcing a new standard of taxation went against locally determined privileges and rates. Disrupting this long-standing tradition would result in Indian protests.[311] These privileges arose from a legal tradition of negotiation which accommodated local elites and, ideally, eased the tributary burden on ordinary people. The tradition of *tasación*—the process of evaluating the ability of a community to pay a certain rate of tribute—was the basis of forming new registers. Bureaucrats wary of political and economic strife opted for changes in certain districts, rather than a complete reformulation of the rate of tribute.

These reevaluations of local privileges did not always result in a favorable outcome for local elites, however. Gálvez responded to a request by elites in Guanajuato that workers in the mines be exempted from tribute. Writing to the king, Gálvez warned that, "if, in the royal mines, tribute is not charged of Indians and other castes who should pay it, the surrounding provinces, and even the more remote ones, will be deserted to the detriment of settlement and agriculture."[312] The Ordinance of Intendants would echo this sentiment, extending tribute to mine workers, cattle ranchers, and others who worked in

[309] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 315, exp. 5, f. 1.
[310] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 315, exp. 5, f. 1.
[311] García Pérez, "El régimen tributario," 283.
[312] Silvio Zavala, *El servicio personal*, tomo VII, 263.

Spanish settlements.[313] These people did not account for the majority of the population, nor were they required to pay a standard rate of taxation. Reformers could undertake more ambitious projects outside New Spain, where the strength of centuries-old institutions and social hierarchies protected institutions, like tribute, from complete overhaul.[314] The latter half of the century was a time of intense debate within the tribute regime; yet, a strong preference for continuity in law and local custom prevented radical reforms to tribute.

Tributaries complained when officials did not accurately create the "exact registers of all inhabitants" described in the Ordinance of Intendants. [315] In 1806, the Office of Tribute Accounts of the Royal Treasury transferred Don Joseph Maria de Ayala and his family from the register of *mulatos* to that of Indians in the jurisdiction of Puruándiro, located halfway between Mexico City and Guadalajara. As "second-class *mestizos*" by their Indian father and Spanish mother, the Ayalas were tributaries despite their Spanish blood.[316] The family prepared documents for the distant offices of the Royal Treasury, in the hope of modifying, rather than opposing, their tributary status. Once the commissioner registered the family, he had ceded his power to alter the list to accountants in the capital as part of the move toward centralization in the Royal Treasury. The register was the Treasury's push for compliance with an onerous tax and an oppressive caste system, but, through a range of complaints and appeals, some families

[313] Lillian Estelle Fisher, *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (New York: Gordian Press, 1969), 296.
[314] Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 94.
[315] Fabián Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia, *Historia general de Real Hacienda*, tomo 1 (Mexico: V.G. Torres, 1845-53), 25.
[316] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 3367, exp. 27, f. 14v.

pushed back. Mistaken registration, a commonplace occurrence throughout New Spain, led to hundreds of court cases and petitions that viceregal authorities sought to prevent by standardizing tribute and centralizing its administration firmly in the capital.

Grids, Columns, and the Restructuring of Registers

Tribute registers were a diverse body of documents ranging from scrawled lists of names to highly regulated grids (see Figures 1 and 2). The most detailed registers come from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, owing to late-Bourbon attempts to break down families into their component parts, placing each individual into a separate category. The first half of the eighteenth century saw registers that had more in common with Habsburg registers than with the rational methods of the end of the century. Even a bare minimum of detail would have required local knowledge to decode, a problem reformers sought to address as they invented new tools for tribute registration. These efforts toward formalization and enforcement, unique to the late eighteenth century, were embodied in new tributary instruments issued from the capital.

Visual representations of tributary lists for Indians and free-coloreds were released to commissioners as early as the 1770s, and again in the years 1785, 1788, and 1796. In the 1770s and 1780s, the instruments focused on three categories which were essential to both payment and counting: the whole tributary, the half tributary, and those reserved from payment. Brief didactic examples accompanied these grids (see Figure 1). In 1793, Viceroy Revillagigedo issued an ordinance, grid, and detailed examples which

aimed to better educate commissioners and thereby standardize the process of registration among Indians and free-coloreds. The ordinance and its accompanying form were designed to avoid "obscurity or doubt because of defective methods of expressing names, *calidad*, caste, sex, and marital status of each individual, and their age."[317] Using the standard forms cut costs, saved time, and rationalized the system. Printing documents avoided crossing out categories and wasting paper, while ticking off categories on a grid streamlined the process of creating and copying registers. Using the same documents for Indian and free-colored tribute joined them under a single rationale known to a wide array of administrators, both Spanish and Indian.

As an instrument of genealogical construction, spatial location, and *calidad* identification, the grids targeted all individuals who could be part of the tributary class and separated them accordingly. The broad separation between Indians and free-coloreds split the population in two; yet, beyond this initial bifurcation, the instruments themselves did not prioritize the recording of other *calidad*-based data. Not only was there no column through which to specify *moreno*, *negro*, *mulato*, or otherwise, the only printed version of a free-colored register that ever circulated was an Indian grid (see Table 14). The use of similar instruments unified the tribute regime, but this practice also signaled that subtleties of *calidad* among *negros* and *mulatos* were irrelevant within this institutional context. Bureaucrats viewed these communities as integrated and constituted by their tributary status, effectively defining a community that subsumed the distinctions of *calidad*.

[317] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 241v.

Table 14. *Organization of Eighteen Tribute Registers*

Place	Intendancy	Year	Grid Used	Free-colored Records[a]	Separate free-colored Book
Rosario	Arizpe[b]	1774	Letter	350	
Aguatlán	Puebla	1786	Letter	28	
Guauchinango	Puebla	1789		528	Yes
Puebla	Puebla	1791	Indian	589	Yes
Tecpan	Mexico	1794		58	
Celaya	Guanajuato	Unknown[c]	Indian	1379	Yes
Ixmiquilpan	Mexico	Unknown[c]	Indian	58	
Puebla	Puebla	1800		369	Yes
San Juan	Mexico	1800	Indian	623	Yes
Ixcateopan	Puebla	1801	Indian	636	Yes
Temascaltepec	Mexico	1801	Indian	121	
Zacualpan	Mexico	1801	Indian	507	
Huichapam	Mexico	1803		243	Yes
San Cristobal Ecatepec	Mexico	1803	Indian	50	
Zacualpan	Mexico	1804		57	
Cozamaloapan	Veracruz	1806		775	Yes
Tlazazalca	Valladolid	1806		1047	
San Juan	Mexico	1807	Indian	127	Yes

Note: I have preserved the place names written on the registers themselves, which may be variations on the most common versions.
Source: See Table 13.

[a]The total records of free-colored families does not reflect the total number of records on registers that included Indians in the same notebook.

[b]Also called Sonora y Sinaloa, an intendancy created before the general implementation of the system.

[c]Date unkown, probably after 1793.

As they designed the columns and instructions, Revillagigedo and his advisers were more concerned with recording *calidad* distinctions in the case of exogamous marriages between free-colored tributaries and Indians, Spaniards, or *mestizos*. If an exempt individual married someone who was not, the exempt individual would also be registered. Marrying a tributary jeopardized an exempt individual's distance from the tribute system, as was true for a Spaniard named Vicente Zoria, alias "The Fat" ("*El Gordo*"), who married Ana María, a *mulata*, with whom he had a daughter.[318] The new

[318] AGN Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31, f. 41.

grid reinterpreted unions such as this one with an eye toward creating future tributaries (see Figure 1). Column 9 did not locate marriages between free-colored men and exempt women; yet, examples instructed commissioners on how to deal with such marriages.[319] *Mulatos* gained the same half-tributary status that their Indian counterparts received as the husbands of Spanish women or *mestiza*s. But the sample register made it plain that "the children, following the *calidad* of the father, are listed here."[320] This register is explicit about the extent to which exogamous marriage between free-colored men and Spanish women or *mestizas* could be beneficial. Regardless of the *calidad* or their mother, for tribute purposes, children of such unions were still future *mulato* tributaries. The practice anticipated a process of funneling entire families into a single tributary caste, eliminating the need for complex distinctions and technicalities.

Grids for both Indian and free-colored tribute registers included the important distinction between "reserved" (*reservado/a*) or "exempt" (*exento/a*), both of which excused an individual from payment. Someone who was "reserved" experienced a kind of physical and temporal suspension which could revert at any time, part of the tributary class but not subject to payment. Such a reservation from royal tribute might be granted in because of illness, injury, or advanced age. A temporary exemption might also be granted to a sick or unproductive individual; however, controversies persisted into the early nineteenth century regarding whether crop failures should qualify Indians for temporary relief.[321] Spanish and *mestizo* exempt individuals could not be obligated to pay

[319] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 248v.
[320] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 247v.
[321] Lorgio Cobá Noh, *El "indio ciudadano": La tributación y la contribución personal directa en Yucatán, 1786-1825* (Mérida: Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, 2009), 67.

tribute because he or she did not have a tributary *calidad*. These distinctions became confused when free-colored women appeared in the sample supplied with the ordinance itself, despite the law's stipulation that all women receive automatic exemptions, regardless of "age, *calidad*, or marital status."[322] As shown in Chapter 2, the femininity and privileges of Afromexican women had diminished in the eyes of the treasury as their bodies were commodified within tribute and slavery.

Distinctions of age and gender among free-coloreds were the most important organizing principles of the grid. Registration was possible for everyone from an elderly person to a nursing infant. The columns disaggregated the population into those who had been temporarily relieved of tributary obligations but who remained tributaries (*reservados*); individuals who had once resided in the community but who had been absent for years (*ausentes*); widows and spinsters (*viudas y solteras*); boys and girls (*niños y niñas*); married couples of legal majority (*casados de edad*); married couples under eighteen years of age (*casados sin edad*); men who had married women who were absent, exempt, or Indians; widowers and bachelors (*viudos y solteros*); women whose husbands were absent or Indians; and male children who would soon reach the tributary age of eighteen (*próximos a tributar*). As Bourbon reformers rearticulated the economic importance of the labor of dependents in Enlightenment terms, bureaucrats translated these ideas into changing attitudes toward women and children of tributary castes. The *próximo* category was indicative of renewed interest in the economic potential of minors.[323]

[322] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 237.
[323] Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 137-138.

Officials recorded a primary name, often that of the patriarch, followed by the names and ages of any dependents.[324] The language of the 1793 ordinance presumes the combination of a tributary and his wife, although the form itself taught commissioners to locate the names of widows.[325] The assumption that most tributary households were headed by men is supported by the sample, in which 7,038 of the total 7,545 records followed this pattern. Men were especially prevalent in cities, but female primary names made up a quarter of those records from Indian *barrios*. In mining regions, female primary names were not uncommon. In Temascaltepec, a register of 121 families showed fifteen women primary names, thirteen widows and two wives of absent men. All but one of the widows living in and around the mines resided with their sons, many of them bachelors and *operarios*. The creators of the form were aware that free-colored tributaries lived in a wide range of arrangements with myriad possibilities for social relationships. Up to a point, the grid allowed for this diversity and supported the incorporation of varied family types as tributaries.

Some officials continued Habsburg traditions of listing rather than categorizing individuals based on the grid. In places like Celaya, Mexico City, and Tlapa, the grid was, unsurprisingly, subject to local interpretation. In practice, free-colored families were registered using the grid designed for Indians, leaving the columns for noble Indians and Indian officials blank. Of the eighteen registers in this sample, nine used the printed grid for Indians, two used a letter grid issued before 1793, and the remaining seven used no grid at all (see Table 14). This led to considerable variations on the placement of

[324] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f 233v.
[325] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 249.

certain individuals, most notably men and women who married exogamously. The Celaya register followed the pattern of Indian registration: *mulatos* who married Indians would appear in column 9 and exogamous *mulatas* in column 11. In Ixcateopan, the handful of *mulatos* (n=9) who married Indian women fell under column 11, which did designate "Indians with *mulatos*." The only marriage listed in column 9 on this register was that of a *mulato* Felipe de Jesus Cervantes, a cattle rancher who lived in Teloloapan with his Spanish wife Manuela de Naxera and their child María.[326]

The register was, in its ideal form, a clear map from one free-colored tributary to others. By connecting free-coloreds to people like them and to common spaces, the register recorded the regional characteristics of free-colored tributary populations. These registers reveal the family and social arrangements among free-colored tributaries, offering specific details that related free-coloreds to each other. The organization of the records speaks to the centrality of social and genealogical connection for the process of formation of the register, its inspiration, and its continued relevance. Administrators concerned themselves with who free-colored subjects were, where they were, how they lived, and which people they knew. This last piece of information went beyond the economic possibilities of taxation; administrators had elevated the ties between tributaries, genealogical and otherwise, as building blocks of a system of categorization.

[326] AGN, Padrones vol. 9, exp. 3, f. 33.

Mobility and Stability

The next part of this chapter will demonstrate the interplay between the bureaucratic spaces of the register and physical spaces that characterized free-colored family networks. To do this, the analysis relies on registers spanning geographies from Sonora to Veracruz between 1774 and 1807 (see Table 14). In total, the sample represents a little more than 4 percent of the free-colored tributary population of more than 380,000, as it was tallied in 1805 from provincial summaries.[327] All but two of the registers, those from Rosario and Aguatlán, were made after the Ordinance for Intendants. The two earlier registers show some distinctive features in their grids and language, such as increased attention to legitimacy, for Rosario, and color, for Aguatlán. In total, these eighteen registers collected information that would help the Royal Treasury locate about 14,870 people. These sample registers demonstrate the reaches of the tribute system and its limits across geography in the late-Bourbon period.

What distinguished bureaucratic and physical tributary spaces? This chapter treats physical and bureaucratic mobility and stability as separate themes, but these spaces overlapped. In Mexico City, for example, registration blurred the lines between residential limits of tribute and the legal spaces of the Spanish and Indian legal republics. Part of the Indian legal structure of the capital, San Juan de Tenochtitlán was one of two *parcialidades*, administrative units that included the Indian *barrios* surrounding the center of Mexico City. In 1811, these *parcialidades* had 12,797 residents, some of whom

[327] This total is 381,941. See AGN, Tributos vol. 43, exp. 9. Another 3.2 million Indian tributary individuals were recorded in the same summary.

were free-colored.[328] Though the domain of Indian government and supposedly contained by its *barrios*, the authority of the *parcialidad* within the tribute system extended to Indians living and working all over the capital, and to free-coloreds as well.[329]

Registers mapped tributary status onto the physical space of the family's residence or workplace. This aspect of registration was the first step in locating tributaries in the present, which would lay the foundations for the long-term process of establishing future tributary lineages. Some kind of location is given on 825 of the sample records, or 11 percent of the total, and 749 of them came from Puebla and Mexico City. These place names might describe independent houses, landmarks, streets, elite homes, places of employment, or the last town where a person was seen. A total of 386 records described *casas*, many of which were probably workshops, though some were numbered residences situated on streets. These details might not mean exact places of residency, but they associated free-colored tributaries with certain kinds of activities and associates: twenty-six records in Mexico City used a tavern called a *pulquería* as a reference point. Such features of tributary status, which were determined as much by caste as by class, informed the term "tributary class" which was popular at the end of the eighteenth century. Outside Mexico City, this level of detail rarely reached the registers. While some references to general place of residence do appear, the information given could amount to little more than "in the town" or the occasional note, "dead."[330]

---

[328] Part of the area of the *parcialidades* may also have been included in the *cuarteles* of the city, possibly resulting in an exaggeration of the population. See Sonia Pérez Toledo and Herbert S. Klein, *Población y estructura social de la Ciudad de México, 1790-1842* (México, DF: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2005), 55.
[329] Luis Fernando Granados, "Cosmopolitan Indians and Mesoamerican Barrios in Bourbon Mexico City: Tribute, Community, Family and Work in 1800" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2008), 30.
[330] AGN, Tierras vol. 1550, exp. 1.

Other records name a *don* or *doña*, as well as clergy, in whose residences free-coloreds lived and served as domestics. This was part of a specific plea by the Ordinance of Intendants that all tributaries should pay, "even if they are the domestic servants of the viceroys, magistrates, prelates, and any other powerful or exempt persons, because they should deduct from the salary they pay their servants who belong to the indicated tributary classes."[331] A total of 51 records connect free-coloreds to people who were probably their employers, such as Don Pioquinto and his *criado*, Antonio Gutiérrez, who resided with his Indian wife Petra de la Cruz in the Barrio del Cubo of Ixmiquilpan. The couple had raised Eugenio, an unmarried adult, as well as Cayetano, 7, and María, 15, and Gertrudis, 12. Having spent many years as tributaries already, the couple asked to be excused from payment owing to their old age. Whether all those people lived in Don Pioquinto's own home is not clear, but he was attached to all of them, and to some extent responsible for their financial obligations. Through these connections between employers and tributaries, powerful and wealthy individuals appeared on the register alongside their servants.

Residence predicted labor patterns and, as a result, tributary status. Certain blocks of Mexico City were more likely to have tributaries subject to the *parcialidad* of San Juan, like Chiconautla Street, where six tributary families lived in 1800 and two in 1807. Of these records, four contained workers in the tobacco industry. Workers earned better wages if more than one person worked in a factory from the same family, a practice which could account for this pattern.[332] Another eight families lived in the first

[331] Fisher, *The Intendant System*, 288-89.
[332] Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers*, 191.

cuartel on the Calle de la Amargura, just behind the old royal tobacco manufactory and the *pulquería* called Las Papas. These workers were easily accessible to both commissioners and employers owing to their proximity to royal factories. In Puebla, more than 150 tributary records represented heads of household who were recorded in the same workshop or house as another tributary family. Textile workshops, like the Obraje de Manzano in Puebla, created another ideal environment for registering large numbers of tributaries at the same place of business. Finally, free-colored artisans were exposed to tributary threats. For as many as 750 free-colored tributary households in this sample, guild membership offered little in the way of protection.

Rural residence is less clear from tribute registers, but rural environments had distinct implications for tribute because of migration patterns and land access. Afromexican immigrants in the rural region of Igualapa tended to "cluster" in certain areas, particularly agricultural *estancias*, along with friends and family.[333] But in interior regions like Ixcateopan, the separation of free-coloreds and Indians on tribute registers may or may not have mapped onto physical settings. Recently, Patrick Carroll has proposed that many more free-coloreds lived alongside Indians in rural communities as both "natives" (*naturales*) and "outsiders" (*ladinos*). Here, the spaces of rural community and register come together: when land rights were threatened, residents could no longer afford tribute payments. At mid-century, one of the towns examined in this study, Teloloapan, witnessed a violent confrontation in which the Indian governor and

[333] Ben Vinson III, "The Racial Profile of a Rural Mexican Province in the 'Costa Chica': Igualapa in 1791," *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (2000): 278-79.

others claimed that blacks were usurping land.[334] Tensions ran high in these western agricultural areas, integral to supplying the mines at Taxco and Zacualpan, and the threat of disenfranchisement caused violence and instability which decreased the efficacy of tribute.[335]

A minority of records, many of them rural, detailed the movements of tributaries. In Celaya, Indians married across *barrios* and non-Indians sought partners in nearby towns.[336] In similar cases, tracking tributaries through physical space was a task commissioners approached using multiple methods. Sometimes, the inclusion of a *barrio* or *reducción* where a spouse was born or a certain nickname, such as "*El Tabasqueño*," would alert a future reader to a family's spatial history. Other registers attest to the movements of larger groups of laborers, such as the preponderance of people "from La Florida," a nearby *hacienda*, living in a *barrio* at the mines at El Cardonal.[337] Whether great or small, any distance traveled caused a disturbance in the place-based methods of identifying and rooting tributaries, drawing the notice of commissioners to migrations of all kinds.

The tribute regime described individuals as the "products" of a particular place,[338] the outcome of reproductive unions, and the continuing expression of free-colored social ties. Many of these connections were genealogical constructions naming patriarchs and

---

[334] Patrick Carroll, "Black Aliens and Black Natives," 79.
[335] Laura Pérez Rosales, *Minería y sociedad en Taxco durante el siglo XVIII* (México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1996), 199.
[336] Caroline E. Doenges, "Marriage Mobility in Late Colonial Celaya, Mexico," *Yearbook Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 22 (1996): 72.
[337] AGN, Padrones vol. 50, exp. 203, f. 204.
[338] See the "Lista de tributarios que produce el quartel menor no. 8 sacada del Padrón" in Manuel Miño Grijalva, *Censo de la población de la Ciudad de México, 1790 censo de Revillagigedo* [CD-ROM] (Mexico, DF: El Colegio de México, 2002).

their progeny. But similar connections through sibling relationships, like that of unwed sisters María de las Nieves Avila and María Sinforosa on an *hacienda* outside Celaya, created a vertical and horizontal linkage that implied shared lineage as well as a direct relationship at the level of the current generation.[339] These two women both had multiple children, and they were linked through a practice that situated individuals and families within larger networks of free-colored extended family and community. These links also anchored people to a particular place, physical or on the register itself. This recordkeeping was not exclusive to free-coloreds, as it served a purpose for the documentation of mobile Indian workers as well. Linking individuals to places and networks created the desired effect of stabilizing what some officials believed to be a mobile population while asserting the importance of lineage and legitimacy within family.

The phrase "son of" ("*hijo de*") appears nearly six hundred times across the sample (see Table 13). Officials commonly attached it to the name of a *soltero*, a bachelor, though they occasionally used the phrase to describe a member of a married couple. Records containing "son of" include the names and sometimes the *calidad* of one or both parents. When both parents' names were present, the tributary gained the legitimacy that came with having known parents in the community, but also the burden of tributary lineage. The use of both parental names, however, was a local phenomenon specific to the city of Puebla. On the 1800 register, parental information was only provided for *solteros*, and within this group about 88 percent of the time. Of the 205 *solteros* on the register, 179 were listed with both parental names, making up nearly 99

[339] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31, f. 59.

percent of those recorded with parental information.[340] On this particular register, parental *calidad* is always absent and was assumed through the tributary status of the child. Simply their inclusion on the register itself was enough to mark the entire family as free-colored.

Connections between records which provided only one parental name were usually between fathers and sons. Tributary status was, by technical definition, passed through the father's *calidad*, although on the ground these distinctions were not often important to commissioners. Of a more practical nature, the father's name could direct the reader to another record on the same register, often recorded near the record in question. "Son of the preceding" ("*hijo del anterior*"), a convenient method for organizing individuals related by blood if not household, appeared about fifty times across the sample. In the Real de Tecacipan, Jose Antonio Chimalpopoca lived with Juana Trinidad Rivas and their two sons, both bachelors. Five records previously, another of their sons appeared in a separate record as the son of the same Chimalpopoca.[341] The commissioner of the same register underscored the importance of father-son relationships by specifying not only when fathers were deceased, but by using language such as "who still lives."[342] In 1806, Jorge Clemente Robledo, who resided on the Ranchería del Río Grande in Tlazazalca, was listed simply as a bachelor and "son of

[340] BNAH, Puebla, Rollo 43.
[341] AGN, Padrones vol. 51, exp 133, f. 133v.
[342] AGN, Padrones vol. 51, exp. 133.

María."[343] An association with a mother's name only could have been due to commissioner neglect, but was likely the result of a female-headed household.[344]

A reference to a father's name could also give clues about occupation, reputation, or physical residence. In Cozamaloapa, a man called Guillermo, a bachelor, was noted as the son of the soldier Lermo Balentín, most likely a member of the free-colored militia.[345] In Actopán, Don Francisco Cortés Monroy was recorded as a bachelor "son of Don Julián." His father was recorded five records later as the same Don Julián Cortés y Monroy, married to Doña María Francisca Peña.[346] Both Guillermo and Don Francisco would have enjoyed prestige because of their relationships to their fathers, who were people of some station in their communities either because of wealth or occupation.

Occurring much less frequently in the sample, the phrases "daughter of" ("*hija de*") and "his/her/their daughter" ("*su hija*") served the same purpose of linking tributaries families. On the Hacienda of Sanabria, a free-colored man called Antonio Victoriano Romero had married an Indian called María Concepción with whom he was raising three young children. In addition, Antonio Victoriano had an unmarried adult son, José Gabriel, who appeared on his own record. After him, listed as "his brother" is José Lucás Romero, the widower of an Indian named María de los Santos, with whom he had an infant daughter, María. Antonio Victoriano also had an adult daughter, Candelaria Romero, who was recorded separately from her parents, as a single woman with no children in her house. She did have at least one child during her life, listed two records

[343] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 4038, exp. 13, f. 28.
[344] These were not uncommon across the sample, totaling more than 500 records.
[345] AGN, Padrones vol. 51, exp. 6, f. 111.
[346] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 3367, exp. 27.

later, a bachelor named José Dolores Romero who was tied to his mother's name with the distinction that she was a *soltera*, an unmarried woman.[347] These amounts of bureaucratic attention reflected the unusual circumstances of exogamy, extramarital children, and multigenerational tributary lineages contained in the records of one family.

The memory of deceased parents followed unmarried men and women, who might not have any other relationships recorded on the register. Nearly one quarter of all records marked with "son of" named deceased fathers, making genealogy an especially important marker for those without any current familial connections to other tributaries. On the Hacienda of Barajas, near Celaya, María Venancia Secundina Paredes, a young girl and child of a deceased *mulato* named Joaquin Paredes, was recorded alone.[348] Such an action on the part of the commissioner would reduce María Venancia's chances of changing her *calidad* or caste later in life, perhaps at marriage.

Commissioners included a deceased parent if the living parent's *calidad* might call into question the child's *calidad* or tributary status. In a town outside Celaya, eight-year-old María Luisa, the daughter of one Nicolás Antonio Vallejo, a deceased *mulato*, had been placed in the care of ("*a cargo de*") her Indian mother Manuela Dolores, who had been placed on an Indian register as well.[349] This situation merited the inclusion of more detail so that María Luisa's *calidad* could remain classified as Afromexican, preventing her, at least at this particular documentary moment, from joining her mother as an Indian. In other situations, the *calidad* of a deceased parent could not shield children from tributary status. In Huichapam, Santiago Sáenz, a bachelor, was listed as

[347] AGN Tributos vol. 8, exp. 1, f. 58v-59.
[348] AGN Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, f. 82v.
[349] AGN Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, f . 24.

the son of Juana Anquiano,[350] once the wife of Vicente Saenz, a *castizo*, with whom she had an adolescent daughter. Margin notes indicate that Juana was widowed at the time the final list was created. Though Vicente was known as a *castizo* at this time, and therefore non-tributary, his children followed their mother's *calidad*. Both these cases demonstrate the ability of the register to stabilize *calidad* by spreading free-colored tributary status to children of a variety of genealogies.

Stabilizing *calidad* was also a method commissioners used among siblings. In an Aguatlán-based family with no surname given, one Cayetano Alberto was married to Marcelina Antonia, *mestiza*, with whom he had a two-month-old son. The following record named Jose Ramón, husband to Josefa Antonia, as Cayetano's brother. A third record following this one described Manuel de la Cruz as the "brother of the preceding" and a bachelor.[351] The thread of brothers solidified the free-colored status of Cayetano Alberto, in spite of his exogamous marriage, which might draw into question the status of his children. Other constructions stood in for the absence of marital connections. Outside the town of Tlazazalca, the widower Juan Jorge Salas resided with his teenaged son and was not obligated to pay tribute. Following this appeared four more records, the first designated "son of the previous," and the other three with "brother of the previous."[352]

Adoption could also represent a form of movement, one which necessitated a register to keep minors in place. Moving through physical space or between legal statuses were changes tracked on registers for both tributaries and slaves, especially

[350] AGN Tierras vol. 1550, exp. 1, f. 29v.
[351] AGN, Tributos vol. 8, exp 1, f. 79v-80.
[352] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 4038, exp. 13, f. 18.

young people. Celaya demonstrated key examples of the movements of children, whose original guardians are recorded, perhaps to provide a trail to the children's place of origin. In the town of Santiago de Neutla near Chamacuero, a *mulata* married an Indian with whom she had no biological children, but the couple was effectively caring for two children, aged 15 and 12, described as the "stepchildren of Pablo."[353] Pablo may have been a *mulato*, because these children are listed with their adoptive mother on the free-colored register, as opposed to the more common practice of listing children with their Indian fathers. Tracking such children on the tribute register would have been particularly important, as tributary and non-tributary households adopted *casta* children.[354]

Illegitimacy was another important feature of free-colored networks and social resources on registers. In Rosario, most residents were *mulatos*, making legitimacy status a useful division for commissioners separating tributaries of the same caste.[355] However, the status of foundlings would become the subject of debate in the late eighteenth century. Foundlings were tributaries in some parts of Spanish America such as New Granada, where illegitimate children to automatically assumed tributary status.[356] In Rosario in 1774, twelve of the total 350 records of *mulato* families contain one or more individuals described as the child of "unknown parents." Unknown parentage on this register was linked to dependent or vulnerable social positions, such as those of servants,

[353] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31.
[354] Ceclia Rabell Romero in "Trayectoria de vida familiar, raza y género en Oaxaca colonial" in *Familia y vida privada en la historia de Iberoamérica: Seminario de Historia de la Familia*, ed. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru and Cecilia Rabell Romero (México, DF: Colegio de México and UNAM, 1996), 112.
[355] Gerhard, *A Guide*, 272.
[356] Milton and Vinson, "Counting Heads," 22.

single women, and orphans. In an area known as El Comercio, orphaned *mulatos* of unknown parentage María Graciana, 23, Luis Vargas, 22, and Josef López, 20, were all unmarried servants in the house of Don Vizente Gagiola.[357] In the absence of a father, these tributaries were known through their connections to their employer, a kind of patriarchal stand-in. The use of legitimacy terminology underlines the linkages of residency, genealogy, labor, and parentage with tribute.

Stressed on the form of 1793, the status of orphans on the tribute register raised questions about the standardization of free-colored community.[358] The number of records containing orphans on the sample registers totaled 128, and, of these, 41 recorded instances of adoption. The large number of orphans with no adoptive or biological family present greatly outnumbered the mere seven who gave an account of one or more biological parents. One of two individuals in the total sample described as "orphans of" deceased *mulato* men, Simon Lopez, a bachelor, was the son of Manuel Lopez and lived in the Casitas de los Timbres in Temascaltepec.[359] The record of this information would have prevented Manuel from seeking tribute privileges awarded to orphaned children of unknown parentage. In Aguatlán, a commissioner recorded twelve-year-old *moreno* Matías as the "orphan of the deceased Miguel Antonio."[360] The commissioner specifically included Matías's *calidad* to leave no doubt about his tributary status. Commissioners were aware of the special, though still hotly debated, status of orphans and its attendant royal, ecclesiastical, and social concessions. Orphans or not, these two

[357] Benito Ramírez Meza, "Matrícula y retasa," 195.
[358] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 249.
[359] AGN, Padrones vol. 49, exp. 227, f. 241v.
[360] AGN, Tributos vol. 8, exp. 1, f. 80v

young men would be next in line to tribute. In the absence of obvious genealogical and social connections such as living parents, spouses, or children, the register fashioned kinship networks that would stabilize potentially slippery tributaries.

The Limits of Tracking Free-colored Tributaries

If the same tributaries were registered at different moments in time, their social characteristics, including *calidad* could change on the register. These maps of mobility and stability were time sensitive, and underscored the episodic nature of tribute. For all their efforts, bureaucrats might gain just a fleeting glimpse of local populations from time to time. However, when different commissioners drew up new registers, they were not simply copying the same lists in the case of Puebla de los Ángeles, New Spain's second city. The previous chapter offered an example from Acatlán and Piastla that epitomized a multi-year process of copied registration and predictable collection at mid-century. Under the same official, registration was based on the same lists used multiple times. The situation in Puebla in the last decade of the eighteenth century offers another view of the tribute register and its efficacy.

Puebla de los Ángeles, founded as a Spanish settlement, had been exempt from tribute in the sixteenth century.[361] Two hundred years later, New Spain's manufacturing center enjoyed no such exemptions because of its sizeable tributary workforce. Puebla's jurisdiction, where 71,366 people lived in and around the city in 1777, was home to some

[361] Miguel Ángel Cuenya, *Puebla de os Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: Una mirada en torno al matlazahuatl de 1737* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), 59.

2,899 *mulatos* and 31 *negros*.[362] Between its Indian and free-colored residents, the city of Puebla alone brought in more than 11,000 *pesos* in tribute per year at the end of the eighteenth century.[363] In the larger Intendancy of Puebla, tribute contributions to the Royal Treasury more than doubled in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[364] This region was lucrative, as it brought in a total of about a million *pesos* in average total income annually between 1790 and 1799.[365] In the Age of Revolutions, Atlantic conflicts primed intercolonial markets for *poblano* goods, but unpredictable economic cycles plagued the manufacturing and agricultural sectors.[366]

Still, at the start of the nineteenth century, Puebla was perhaps as industrialized as eastern Pennsylvania and some areas of New England.[367] Free-coloreds played an integral role in the story of industrialization of the city. Since the seventeenth century, Puebla had been characterized by its *obraje* labor which propelled the region to economic prosperity. Puebla's proximity to the capital and its importance for international trade afforded a comparatively diverse occupational structure. Free-coloreds in Puebla (*afropoblanos*) held a variety of professions at the end of the eighteenth century, but the tribute burden would have weighed heavily on the majority, who made low and modest

---

[362] Guy P.C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 63. The jurisdiction also had 18,369 residents of Spanish descent; 24,039 Indians; 10,942 *mestizos*; 2,416 *castizos*; and 12,670 belonging to other *castas.*

[363] Rafael García Pérez, *Reforma y resistencia: Manuel de Flon y la intendencia de Puebla* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 2000), 111.

[364] The Real Hacienda received 79,326 *pesos* in tribute monies between 1780-1789, which rose to 186,859 in 1790-1800. See Herbert S Klein, *The Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680-1809* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 88.

[365] Klein, *The Finances of the Spanish Empire*, 75.

[366] Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles*, 21.

[367] Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles*, 33-34.

wages as artisans.[368] The construction of tribute registers reflected viceregal concerns with promoting manufacturing, and tribute registers of the late-eighteenth century focused on male members of particular professions. For these reasons, the free-colored tribute registers in this city demonstrate viceregal goals and local professional structures.

The following analyses will be based on two tribute registers of free-colored individuals from the city of Puebla in 1794 and 1800. Although the 1791 register was copied onto a grid form in 1794, which is the version preserved in the archive, it was nearly completely distinct from the 1800 register. In total, Puebla's free-colored registration numbers for the jurisdiction dwindled from 589 in 1791 to 369 records in 1800. Beyond the drop in raw numbers, different commissioners were rarely capable of counting the same people in both years. The position transferred from José Gonzalez del Castillo, who served as commissioner in 1791 to Francisco Monroy, who served in 1800. A subdelegate of a nearby *partido*, he had already held a similar post in 1794 for the register of Guayacocotla.[369] In spite of his experience, he was unable to locate hundreds of families inscribed on the grid of 1791.

Between the two registers, only about thirty records contain repeated primary names, and out of that small group only fifteen can be reasonably matched across the years. When couples were located in both years, one striking phenomenon was that caste-shifting among wives of free-colored tributary men. The following two extended families demonstrate this trend of instability, which also contrasts with the results of the Acatlán and Piastla registration taken five decades earlier. By the end of the century in

[368] Vinson, *Bearing Arms,* 111.
[369] AGN, General de Parte vol. 65, exp. 180.

New Spain's second city, the wives of free-coloreds remained the object of commissioner interest, which may have worked in their favor. If each commissioner decided to investigate *calidad* personally, as will be shown in the next chapter, women had a greater chance of defining themselves on their own terms.

In 1791, José Mendoza, a weaver on the Calle de Sayas, was married to a *mestiza* called Ana Antonia Ponce.[370] At this time, this match would have been typical of exogamy patterns among *mulatas* and *mulatos* alike.[371] Their sons Marcelino Cayetano, 16, and Joaquín, 13, were nearing tributary age ("*próximos a tributar*"), but four other young children were all under the age of eight. Many *mulatos* living in Puebla Intendancy were married.[372] But within the heavily *soltero* tributary sample, José Mendoza was a memorable resident. His marital status and fixed residence may have drawn a new commissioner to him when the next registration occurred. In 1800, José Mendoza had reached forty years of age and the household had changed.[373] Three of their children—two girls Margarita, now 13, and María Josefa, who would be turning 9, as well as Francisco, 8—were absent and in an undisclosed place. A new baby had been born, Marcelino and Joaquín had grown up, and Ana Antonia had changed her *calidad* to that of a *castiza*. This subtle shift in terminology did not directly affect the family's tributary payments in the short-term. What it might do was alter the caste or even tributary status of the new baby, José Ygnacio, or future children. Though the children of

[370] BNAH, Puebla, Rollo 43.
[371] Miguel Marín Bosch, *Puebla neocolonial, 1777-1831: casta, ocupación y matrimonio en la segunda ciudad de Nueva España* (Zapopan: Colegio de Jalisco, 1999), 127.
[372] In 1777, a slight majority (55.7%) of the *mulato* men registered in all of Puebla's parish records were married. Marín Bosch, *Puebla neocolonial*, 43.
[373] BNAH, Puebla, Rollo 44.

a free-colored man and a *castiza* would still be tributaries in the strictest sense, Ana Antonia and José Mendoza's future children would have a better chance of contesting their status the more Spanish blood they could accrue in their favor.

The brothers José and José Joaquín Heredia, both tanners, were listed in succession on the two registers. In 1791, José had asked for a *reserva* because he was above the age of 60.[374] In the same entry is his son Manuel who practiced the most common free-colored tributary trade as a shoemaker.[375] José Joaquín, described as the brother of José Heredia, lived at the Casadería de Blanco. These links among family members provided caste stability in Puebla. Though individual caste labels are not provided, the brothers were very likely to have the same caste.[376] But the spouses of the two men were not listed with their families of origin, and so had greater caste mobility. By 1800, José Joaquín's wife María Francisca Escobar had established herself as a *mestiza* sufficiently to be entered as such into the register. With her husband, now simply Joaquín aged 30, she had three young children, María Antonia, Joaquín, and José Simon. Significantly reducing the financial burden on the growing family, the couple paid a half-tributary rate owing to her status as a *mestiza*. In 1800, in contrast, José Heredia was connected to fewer potential tributaries than before. He remained the widower of one Hilaria Cayetano Veramonte, and now his son Manuel had disappeared from the 1800 register. Perhaps he sought work elsewhere and started a family of his own, or, like many, escaped registration.

---

[374] BNAH, Puebla, Rollo 43.
[375] BNAH, Puebla, Rollo 44.
[376] Marín Bosch, *Puebla neocolonial*, 114.

Fleeing registration and hiding individuals appear to have been common practices in Puebla at the turn of the nineteenth century. In total, free-colored registration numbers for the jurisdiction dropped by more than one-third, from 589 in 1791 to 369 records in 1800. Married men in the sample were relatively few (n=122), in comparison with the overall rates of marriage. Most of the free-colored tributaries in New Spain's second city were skilled or semi-skilled craftsmen who would have remained in the city with a workshop or master artisan. This was not an inherently mobile group, but commissioners did not manage to locate this population and record its characteristics over a ten-year period. Though grids and columns could stabilize *calidad*, to a certain degree, these new instruments could not prevent individuals from hiding from or lying to commissioners. The distinctive population recorded on each tribute register suggests that the free-colored population was much larger than either grid reveals. Officials in Puebla, like those in Mexico City, relied heavily on occupational characteristics to locate male tributaries. Yet, the unit of the family, as Bourbon reformers had argued, provided the most stable site of repeated registration. Outside Puebla and Mexico City, the uneven incorporation of women and children into the tributary group strengthened the tribute regime and allowed it to expand the numbers of tributaries significantly.

Conclusions

It was with a "lack of method and confusion" that many commissioners created registers, rather than "a general and enduring method that in the future will assure the

success of such an important matter."[377] Revillagigedo and his advisers showed, through their commitment to instruments, an intention to categorize and separate different groups according to their tributary responsibilities. Through tribute, officials brought Indians and free-coloreds together in a single bureaucratic space, cordoning them off from Spanish men and their children with Indian women. Bourbon officials in Mexico City imagined registers as uniform exercises, but the documents demonstrate this was wishful thinking. In fact, very few registers conform to all the detailed instructions emanating from Mexico City in the late-eighteenth century. As representations of free-coloreds through the eyes of local officials, registers provide an approximation of free-colored tributary demography as well as insight into the success of bureaucratic goals at the local level.

The project of expanding registers demonstrates what one historian has called a Bourbon "infatuation with the efficacy of state power."[378] To register and know all the free-colored tributaries in New Spain was a lofty goal. In the process of meeting it, Bourbon attempts to expand tribute may have encouraged the process of passing among free-coloreds, whose rate of tribute was higher than that of Indians.[379] Other evidence from rapid declines in tributaries, such as in Puebla, suggests that urban residents managed to escape registration. Taking this into account, the Royal Treasury still claimed to have registered more than a quarter million free-coloreds by the turn of the nineteenth century. A small sample of these registers yields details from the lives of

[377] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 240v.
[378] Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire 1759-1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.
[379] Guardino, *The Time of Liberty*, 95.

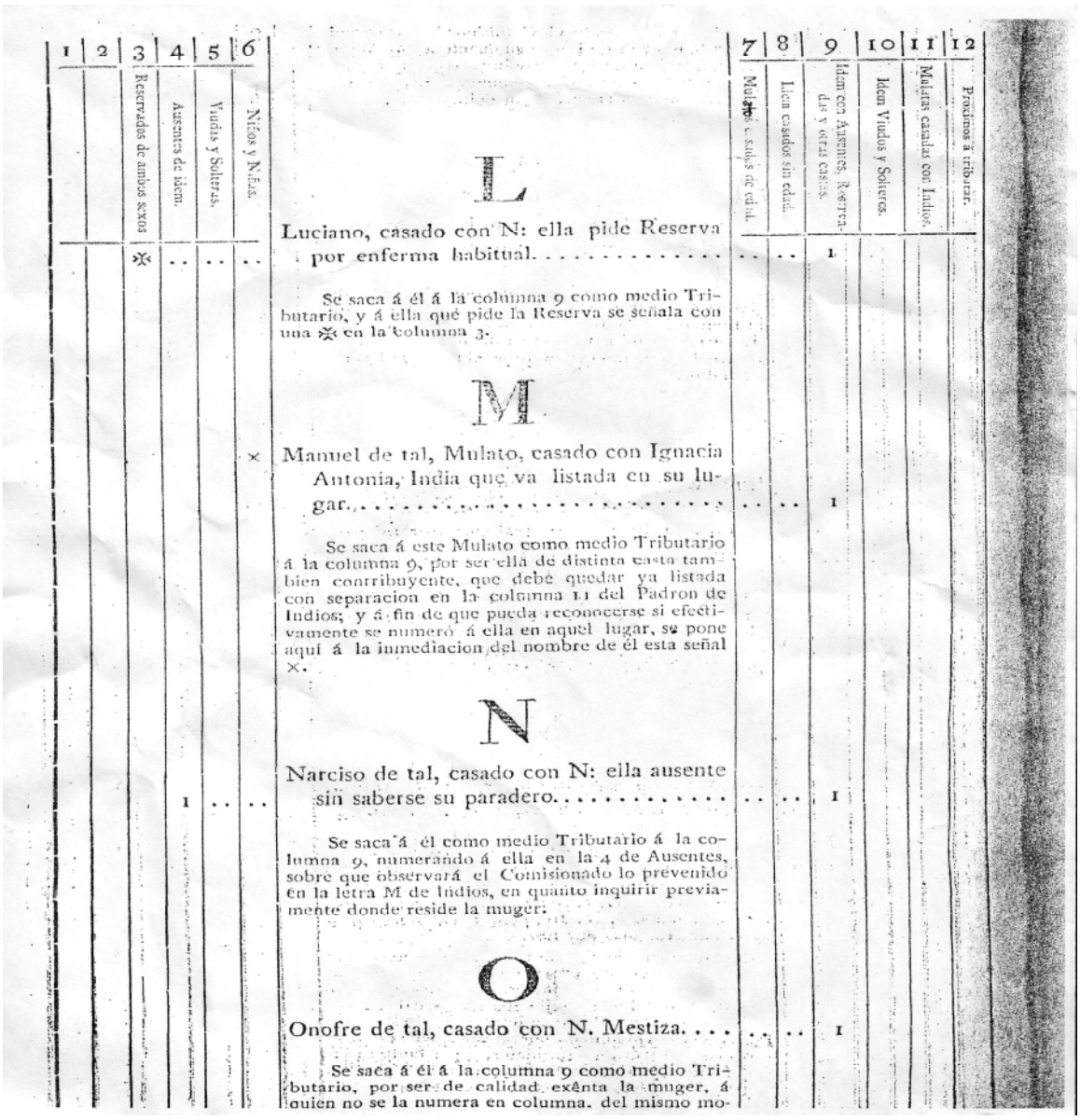
more than 14,000 people. Exogamy was a particular focus of the register, and the registers in the sample managed to aggregate more than a thousand such marriages. Families were tracked in a fairly uniform fashion through phrases relating them by blood or marriage.

The register was the primary indicator of tributary status in the eyes of the Royal Treasury. Many complaints and exemption cases focused on the register itself as more odious than the actual collection of payment. The payment of tribute was one part of the story, but appearing on the free-colored register at all would impact local reputation in a way that many found intolerable. Although registers recorded relatively little information, they were powerful tools of bureaucratic organization, and residents of New Spain recognized this reality. Famously, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla would abolish the tax in 1810, though registers were kept in some areas until the end of the decade.[380] For proponents of independence from Spain, disrupting the process of tribute registration and its categories was critical for the formation of new political alliances at the local level.

Though its physical form belonged to the Royal Treasury in Mexico City, the tribute register was also a manifestation of community memory. As R. Douglas Cope has argued, "racial labels had a real meaning for plebeians because they delineated social networks."[381] This chapter has focused on many of the uses of the tribute register for the colonial regime to enlarge its sphere of influence over free-colored subjects. But this map of free-colored relationships and responsibilities, obligations and reputations was

[380] See AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 6293, exp.54, which is the "Libro de Cuentas de los tributos de Zacualtipan, Huichapan de 1817 a 1819."
[381] Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 87.

also a repository for community knowledge. By aggregating data on family distribution and composition, tribute registers reinforced the importance of family and genealogy in determining the tributary status of the current generation and designating future offspring as tributaries. Documenting whose ancestor was on the register was useful in defining land rights and tributary obligations, finding suitable marriage partners, determining eligibility for local offices, recording membership in guilds, describing patterns of residence, and locating potential workers. When local residents forgot or disputed its content, the register could be consulted within the confines of the courts and administration. In Mexico City, these documents housed a bureaucratic description of free-colored community and subjecthood defined through familial relationships.



1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	12
		Reservados de ambos sexos	Ausentes de idem.	Viudas y Solteras.	Niños y Niñas.		Mulatos casados de edad.	Idem casados sin edad.	Idem con Ausentes, Reservados y otras causas.	Idem Viudos y Solteros.	Mulatas casadas con Indios.	Próximos á tributar.
		✻	..	..	..	L Luciano, casado con N: ella pide Reserva por enferma habitual.	..	..	1			
						Se saca á él á la columna 9 como medio Tributario, y á ella qué pide la Reserva se señala con una ✻ en la columna 3.						
					×	M Manuel de tal, Mulato, casado con Ignacia Antonia, India que va listada en su lugar.	..	..	1			
						Se saca á este Mulato como medio Tributario á la columna 9, por ser ella de distinta casta tambien contribuyente, que debe quedar ya listada con separacion en la columna 11 del Padron de Indios; y á fin de que pueda reconocerse si efectivamente se numeró á ella en aquel lugar, se pone aquí á la inmediacion del nombre de él esta señal ×.						
			1	..	..	N Narciso de tal, casado con N: ella ausente sin saberse su paradero.	..	..	1			
						Se saca á él como medio Tributario á la columna 9, numerando á ella en la 4 de Ausentes, sobre que observará el Comisionado lo prevenido en la letra M de Indios, en quanto inquirir previamente donde reside la muger.						
						O Onofre de tal, casado con N. Mestiza. . . .	..	..	1			
						Se saca á él á la columna 9 como medio Tributario, por ser de calidad exênta la muger, á quien no se la numera en columna, del mismo mo-						

Figure 1. Sample from the "Formulario de las Matrículas de Tributarios," AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9.

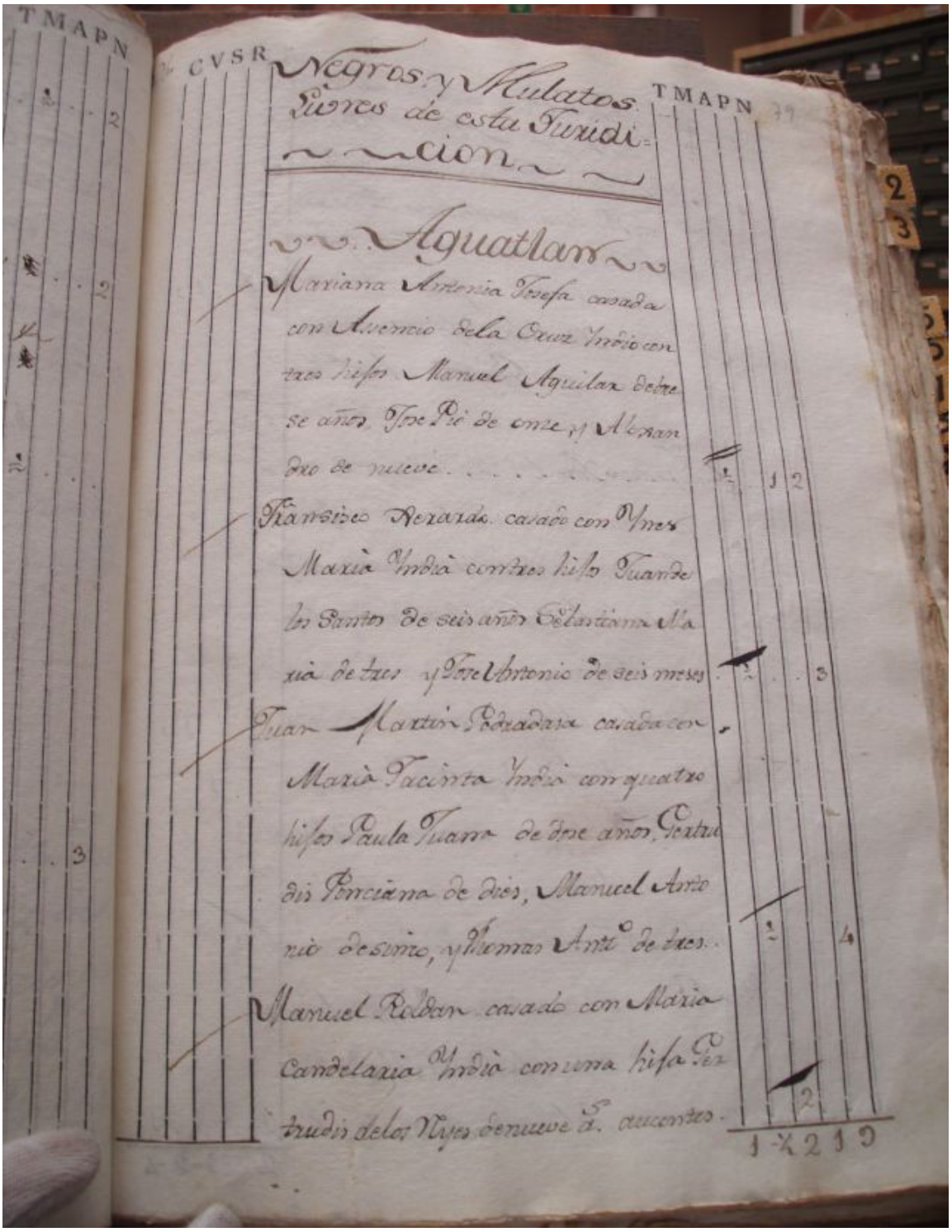


Figure 2. A selection from a 1786 register from Aguatlán using an alternate grid. Source: AGN, Tributos vol. 8, exp. 1.

Chapter 4

Imperial Knowledge and the Expansion of Tribute, 1768-1807

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the ways in which local officials and viceregal bureaucrats constructed free-colored tributary subjects and visually represented them in tribute summaries to be archived in Seville. Compilations of tributary data created and quantified nuclear families and mapped free-colored social groups. With new methods of data visualization and counting, colonial authorities constructed, tracked, and expanded the tributary population. Drawing on eighteen tribute registers, the first part of the chapter examines the category of free-colored tributary and how it conformed to or contradicted prevailing ideologies of caste and gender. The second section discusses the presentation of tributary data for viewing and preservation in the *Archivo General de Indias*. Accountants in Mexico City communicated tributary data using charts or "maps" (*mapas*), following the precedent of the *Catastro de Ensenada*, through which accountants could "convert the kingdom into a mathematical object (different from that handled by geographers, astronomers and naturalists) which, among many other things, satisfied the condition of being a mobile, recognized, experimental, and stable object."[382] As accountants and bureaucrats fashioned such instruments out of the *padrones* discussed in the previous chapter, these men examined, defined, and displayed blackness as integral to empire.

[382] Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde, "Making Scientific Objects and Setting Standards: Values, Technology, Government and the Enlightenment," *EMPIRIA: Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales* 18 (2009): 140.

This chapter argues that the introduction of printed instruments aided not only in the tracking of tributary bodies, but in the construction of the tributary subject. By creating a group of subjects who were economically and reproductively beneficial to projects like tribute, Bourbon reformers represented free-coloreds as a productive part of the colonial society. The first section of this chapter interrogates the kinds of information Bourbon bureaucrats obtained or fabricated to conform to spatial and gendered parameters of tributary subjecthood. Targeting urban areas, these reformers also recorded thousands of free-coloreds in the rural interior,[383] ultimately inscribing overarching characteristics of the free-colored tributary, including endogamous marriage and raising children. These traits were directly opposed to prevailing notions of a lack of domesticity and stability among free people of color. Instead, the tributary population was made up of individuals who were those most willing to participate in taxation—or the least willing to flee—often male family members who were farmers or artisans.

Commissioners selected and created tributary subjects who met prevailing standards of patriarchal family construction. Some officials avoided unmarried women altogether, following local custom or their personal ambivalence about disrupting the paternalistic authority which allowed them to protect vulnerable community members.[384] Other officials dutifully followed the instructions of Viceroy Revillagigedo to target as many members of the free-colored community as possible within a standard age metric.

---

[383] On rural free-colored populations, see: Andrew B. Fisher, "Negotiating Two Worlds: The Free-Black Experience in Guerrero's Tierra Caliente" in *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, ed. Ben Vinson, III and Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 51-71; Patrick James Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 112-129; and Vinson, "The Racial Profile," 269-282.
[384] Kanter, *Hijos del Pueblo*, 31-36.

At the same time, these same officials eroded or eliminated the category of the half tributary for adult men. According to some bureaucrats—including Revillagigedo himself—the elimination of the half tributary would ensure that male subjects married without any tributary disincentive to do so.[385] Even with these new counting practices, commissioners could not completely disguise the presence of a wide variety of family structures within free-colored communities. Commissioners singled out family constructions that did not conform to a nuclear norm: sisters who raised children together, couples who adopted orphans, or free-coloreds who chose spouses from other castes. By revealing the diversity of family structures, the data used in this chapter show free-colored tributary populations with interlocking and complex ties among themselves, as well as with people of other castes. A tension formed between the tributary subject and the multitude of free-colored social bonds.

The second section of this chapter asks how viceregal authorities communicated this vast body of information to the highest levels of government. Following the formation of the *padrones*, names and family structures were distilled into numbers of tributaries in a given area and that area's economic output. By integrating the demographic and economic features of tributary data, the second section of this chapter, then, shows that free-colored populations paid tribute in more than 130 jurisdictions of New Spain, in numbers ranging from just one half tributary individual in 1771 in Acapulco to the thousands registered in the mining zones of San Luis Potosi, Leon, and San Miguel El Grande.[386]

[385] García Pérez, "El régimen tributario," 282.
[386] AGI, Mexico leg. 2104.

Economic data compiled between 1768 and 1788 suggest that standardized modes of collection and presentation of information streamlined the tribute regime. Destined for Spain, large grids were the preferred method of visualizing the patterns of collection and distribution. Administrators in the Tributes Branch of the Royal Treasury in Mexico City tallied these numbers each year in an effort to keep other bureaucrats apprised of the state of accounts. What these documents show is that tribute collection expanded—somewhat unpredictably at the local level—almost 35 percent over a twenty-year period. These accounts (*cuentas*) of 150 or more jurisdictions of the Kingdom of New Spain demonstrated a host of taxes, their status as paid or unpaid, and the number of taxpayers charged in each jurisdiction. Rationalizing and compiling local tribute data, these documents went beyond and complemented the tribute register in their design and purpose. Whereas the tribute register, a space oriented toward local families and social structures, spoke to the capital, these accounts would provide an overview of potential or current taxation in an imperial context.

Part I: Portrait of a Free-colored Tributary

Padrones catalogued interpersonal relationships based on free-colored community structures and individual commissioner preferences or beliefs about free-colored tributaries. Using data from local registers, the analyses of this section focus on spatial distribution, marriage patterns, and family formation in free-colored communities. First, the data show that free-colored patterns of residency were predictable and related to

community ties. Second, the data demonstrate the prevalence of exogamous marriage practices among certain tributary communities such as that of Celaya. Elsewhere, the registers belie commissioner biases in favor of endogamous marriages, which bounded free-colored community in the minds of officials. Third, the findings in this chapter reveal two contemporary discourses of gender. The tribute regime encouraged economic productivity among non-elite women while preserving the patriarchal ideal of the male-headed household.[387] Tribute registers might give specific accounts of female-headed households, presumably because these women were capable of paying taxes and also because they existed outside the patriarchal norm. Finally, this section examines the absence of *calidad* markers from the registers. The section concludes that, rather than *calidad*, the guiding principles behind the registers were based on tributary qualities like occupation, marital status, gender, and age. Once an individual entered the space of the free-colored tribute register, his or her caste and *calidad* were of secondary importance for bureaucrats and officials.

Free-colored Places of Residence

The idea that free people of African descent were mobile and had no place of permanent residence permeated both popular discourse in the late-eighteenth century as well as the logic of tribute.[388] To root people to a particular spot, tribute commissioners

[387] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 26-32.
[388] For a specific overlap between these stereotypes and the tribute regime, see: Rafael D. García Pérez, *Reforma y resistencia: Manuel de Flon y la intendencia de Puebla* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 2000), 197. The idea that blacks were poor, dangerous, and maintained no stable lifestyle was prevalent in

noted place of residence or work, especially among urban guilds. Outside of cities, commissioners often described free-coloreds based on their residences on or relationship to a particular *hacienda*. These records were the closest commissioners could get to fixed registration. On large *haciendas*, free-coloreds joined local nodes of labor that more closely resembled "a set of interlocking relationships, or systems, than an entity with fixed and exclusive characteristics."[389] Laborers were still somewhat mobile and might take on different positions in the *hacienda* and its regional or local market over time. Still, commissioner attempts to connect free-colored people to economic production and fixed location had the effect of contradicting the very stereotypes attached to them. What emerges from tribute registers is a construction, through data production, of free-colored families who lived and worked mostly in sedentary patterns.

Free-colored families lived and worked in cities and surrounding Indian *barrios*; in headtowns (*cabeceras*) and subject towns; in rural settlements and hamlets (*congregaciones, parajes, puestos*); on rural agricultural and cattle estates (*estancias, ranchos, haciendas*); as laborers in workshops (*obrajes*); and in mines (*real de minas*). Rural families might live near mining *haciendas* in *cuadrillas*, areas designated for workers' family dwellings.[390] Families also lived in improvised situations, in unrecognized hamlets, as "*arrimados*" (see Table 15). Slightly less than half of all

---

Mexico and beyond. For such sentiments in Brazil, see Stuart B. Schwartz and Hal Langfur, "Tapanhuns, Negros de Terra, and Curibocas: Common Cause and Confrontation between Blacks and Natives in Colonial Brazil," in *Beyond Black and Red: African-native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 200), 81-114.

[389] Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 112.

[390] María Guevara Sangiés, "Vida cotidiana de castas en Guanajuato, siglo XVIII," in *Pardos, Mulatos y Libertos: Sexto Encuentro De Afromexicanistas*, ed. Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2001), 149.

records in this sample came from urban areas (n=3335), where free-colored male tributaries followed typical trades like shoemaking and textile production, and women served as domestics. The remaining records showed people laboring on rural properties or living in towns (n=4210). In Celaya alone, one hundred *haciendas* appeared on the tribute register, indicating the importance of *hacienda* labor for the local economy and the abundance of free black labor in the area. The more than 800 families that lived on these *haciendas* in Celaya cemented the close connections between city, mine, and *hacienda*.

Table 15. *Spatial Distribution of Heads of Households*

Place type	Widows and *solteras*	Male	Totals
Barrio	161	498	659
Cañada	0	7	7
Cabecera	112	842	954
City	37	990	1027
Congregación	2	66	68
Curato	0	30	30
Estancia	7	129	136
Guild	1	368	369
Hacienda	69	1514	1583
Obraje	1	13	14
Paraje	6	118	124
Town	28	625	653
Puesto	0	25	25
Cuadrilla	8	94	102
Rancho	66	956	1022
Royal Mint	0	15	15
Royal Mines	6	347	353
Region	1	12	13
Tobacco Factory	0	293	293
Unspecified	2	96	98
Totals	507	7038	7545

Source: See Table 13.

The tribute register was organized by region and then by the primary name on the record, often the head of the household. The spatial distribution of female primary names across different types of geography confirms scholarship that has located unmarried women in colonial Mexican cities (see Table 15).[391] In such environments, women had greater access to what one scholar has termed "everyday credit," by which women managed money through pawning and other housekeeping strategies specific to urban life.[392] The presence of unmarried women is especially notable within the forty-four percent of the free-colored tributary population that lived in cities and their *barrios*. Nearly two-thirds of all such households could be found in urban areas. Indian *barrios* were the most common place to find both households headed by widows and those run by unmarried women called *solteras*. The presence of women in urban areas reflected the increased opportunities for female employment in cities, but women in rural areas had their own livelihoods as property owners and farmers.[393] The 192 records which list a woman's name first in the rural zones attest to the fact that commissioners were also concerned with tracking and taxing these families (see Table 16). Since women could inherit and dispense with property under Spanish law,[394] a rural, female-headed household was potentially home to a family of farmers who would have the capacity to pay tribute.

[391] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 116.
[392] Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 4-5.
[393] Ixcateopan renters and farmers were male and female.
[394] Asunción Lavrín and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (May, 1979): 286.

Table 16. *Gender Distribution of Households in Rural and Urban Areas*

Head of household	Female, Rural	Male, Rural	Female, Urban	Male, Urban
Total households	192	4018	311	3024
As a percent of all urban or rural records	5%	95%	9%	91%
As a percent of total records	3%	53%	4%	40%

Source: See Table 13.

Tributaries were spatially distributed between small villages, rural estates, and wealthy colonial mining cities. These tributary trends match what other historians have observed about the large number of male, free-colored wage laborers in trades, farming, and unskilled work.[395] The registers show sites of labor like *haciendas*, *obrajes*, and guilds, where commissioners could easily locate groups of free-colored men. This study contributes to scholarship on free-colored work and residence by incorporating free-colored rural women. Though registers provide scant details about their livelihoods, this study contends that some local officials valued the participation of free-colored women in the labor force and believed them to have access to specie. As contemporaries observed, hundreds of women labored in mines, breaking and selecting minerals.[396] Other men and women provided food, shelter, and transportation to travelers to and from the mines. Free-coloreds filled the transportation gap between *hacienda* and city, as in the case of Celaya where *mulatos* held more than 30 percent of such jobs.[397] In rural areas, men predominated as patriarchs responsible for dependents and adult workers in their

[395] Ben Vinson III, "From Dawn 'till Dusk," 102; Marín Bosch, *Puebla neocolonial*, 156; and Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz*, 115-116.
[396] Enrique Florescano and Isabel Gil Sánchez, *Descripciones económicas regionales de Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1976), 25.
[397] Catherine E. Doenges, "A Regional Society in Colonial Mexico: Eighteenth-Century Celaya, A Perspective from the Household," (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1993), 73-74.

households. However, commissioners held differing opinions about the status of rural free-colored women in the tribute regime. Contradictions between their femininity and their low status, discussed in Chapter 2, required commissioners to register women as tributaries but not always to charge them.

Reproducing Tribute: Marriage Patterns and Calidad

The status of free-colored women in the tributary regime also affected the ways in which exogamous and endogamous marriage choices defined tributary status. Tributary status, tied to caste and *calidad*, was maintained or broken through marital and reproductive unions. The tribute registers from this study show high levels of free-colored tributary endogamy, though exogamy did occur frequently in specific regions, like the economically dynamic Bajío.[398] Such discrepancies may indicate scarcity of marriage partners, opportunities for social mobility, personal preference for a specific caste, commissioner bias, or some combination of these factors. High rates of endogamy may also indicate a commissioner preference for identifying whole tributaries, which were more lucrative and recognizable as free-colored. It is possible that levels of tributary endogamy exceeded those of free-coloreds throughout the Kingdom of New Spain, though such an estimate would be preliminary at best. What is clear is that thousands of free-colored tributary couples married endogamously and became tributaries.

[398] Tutino, *Making a New World*, 360.

The eighteen tribute registers in this sample show that free-coloreds married with most frequency within their own caste, followed by unions with Indians, and finally with non-tributary individuals (see Table 17). Across New Spain, free-coloreds showed varying degrees of preference for endogamous partners, depending on geography, gender, and trade. While most free-coloreds showed preference for their own castes or for *mestizo* partners, local variations occurred (see Table 17). Among this tributary sample, 39 percent of exogamous unions occurred between *mulatas* and Indians. Like most exogamous marriages in the sample, the majority occurred in Celaya, but Indian men did marry *mulatas* in Puebla, Huichapam, and Tlazazalca. In Tlazazalca, exogamous marriages were a factor of the availability of marriage partners, as much as preference for exogamy or endogamy among *mulatos* or *mestizos*.[399] Royal tribute, which followed children through either maternal or paternal lineages, would have had fewer effects on marriage choices among Indians and free-coloreds, all subject to the tax. Such marriages, though exogamous by caste, were still endogamous in terms of tributary status and joined individuals within the tributary class.

Table 17. *Castes of Exogamous Partners*

Caste	*castizo/a*	*español/a*	exempt	*indio/a*	*mestizo/a*	unspecified	Totals
Mulata	1	24	2	249[a]	12	1	289
Mulato	7	287	3	387[b]	144[c]	0	828
Totals	8	311	5	636	156	1	1117

Source: See Table 13.

[a]Includes 3 "*indios vagos*"

[b]Includes 1 "*india de reducción*" and one "*cacica*"

[c]Includes 3 instances of "*mestindia*"

[399] Leon Yacher, "Marriage Migration and Racial Mixing in Colonial Tlazazalca, 1750-1800," Syracuse University Department of Geography, Discussion Paper Series, no. 32 (1977): 8.

Table 18. *Distribution of Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages by Register*

Place	Year	Free-colored records	Exog. Marriages	Endog. Marriages	Total Marriages	Exog. as % of Total Marriages	Endog. as % of Total Marriages
Huichapam	1803	243	117	43	160	73%	27%
Puebla	1794	589	118	81	199	59%	41%
Celaya	post-1776	1379	525	463	988	53%	47%
Ecatepec	1803	50	25	23	48	52%	48%
Ixmiquilpan[a]		58	28	27	55	51%	49%
Aguatlán	1786	28	9	11	20	45%	55%
Puebla	1800	369	44	79	123	36%	64%
Tlazazalca	1806	1047	132	616	748	18%	82%
San Juan	1800	623	54	329	383	14%	86%
Zacualpan	1804	57	4	38	42	10%	90%
Rosario	1774	350	17	167	184	9%	91%
Guauchinango	1789	528	12	234	246	5%	95%
Zacualpan	1801	507	18	398	416	4%	96%
San Juan	1807	127	2	61	63	3%	97%
Temascaltepec	1801	121	2	87	89	2%	98%
Ixcateopan	1801	636	10	475	485	2%	98%
Tecpan	1794	58	0	37	37	0%	100%
Cozamaloapa	1806	775	0	558	558	0%	100%
Totals		7545	1117	3727	4844	23%	77%

Source: See Table 13.
[a] Date unknown.

Within the tributary class, free-coloreds married Indians who were subject to different legal, cultural, and economic frameworks. Indians in colonial Mexico maintained distinct cultural and linguistic identities, but the tribute system recognized only some of this diversity toward fiscal ends. In and around Mexico City, the Indian category waxed and waned as individuals used or rejected this label at the end of the colonial period.[400] Some Indian groups on frontiers were not subject to tribute in exchange for their allegiance. In areas like the jurisdiction Tlazazalca, Indians received tributary distinctions based on their residence, rather than their ethnicities. In the town of

[400] O'Hara, *A Flock Divided*, 198-203.

Chilchota, the commissioner distinguished between an Indian living in a town (*india de pueblo*) and simply "Indian" (*india*) to demonstrate the legal privileges and corporate responsibilities of Indians belonging to a corporate entity. In the neighboring headtown of Tlazazalca, Juan Antonio Cabrera had married María Rosalia, an *yndia de reducción*.[401] This term associated María Rosalia with a contemporary dispute between missionaries, who believed in the importance of separating Indians to promote their spiritual growth, and Bourbon reformers, who advocated for assimilating Indians into Spanish American society.[402] In Zacualpan, tribute commissioners also divided Indian women by specific markers rather than grouping them all as simply "*indias*." Here, women could be "*indios vagos*," a negative term usually applied to temporary male workers unaffiliated with a specific Indian town. This term could denote a lack of accountability to pay tribute, because migrant workers in mining regions were not associated with an *hacienda* or town.[403]

What these blanketed characteristics obscure, as do ecclesiastical records, is the extent to which *mulatas* married non-tributary men, especially Spaniards. Both tribute registers and ecclesiastical documents privilege male names, organizing them separately as Spaniards, Indians, or *castas*. In this sample, a handful of Spanish male names did appear (n=24). Urban couples from the middle classes were most common. Nine of them were registered in the *barrios* of Rosario, even one man who used the honorific "don." How Don Pedro Rivera ended up registered in Rosario alongside his *mulata* wife Josefa Leuteria and their five children is not disclosed by the sparse details of the register.

[401] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 4038, exp. 13, f. 5v.
[402] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 104.
[403] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 258.

Their relationship had begun long before the creation of this register in 1774: Francisco Agapito, their eldest was already twenty-two years old at the time. The youngest, Juana, was just three, demonstrating a long and publicly known relationship between a free-colored woman and a man of some social standing.

Outside of tribute, records of endogamy and exogamy have been crucial to historians' understandings of free-colored family across geographies and institutions. R. Douglas Cope, in his study of Mexico City, used patterns of endogamy to demonstrate the absence of "passing" among poor *castas*, and, more provocatively, to assert that plebeians "were uninterested in the complexities of the *sistema de castas*."[404] In Parral, Robert McCaa identified patterns of marriage endogamy tied to "racial drift," as the *calidades* of the marital partners influenced one and other.[405] Women, who were less likely to develop a reputation based on *clase*, were especially likely to change their *calidad* at the time of marriage.[406] Levels of endogamy among witnesses and spouses have also lent support to discussions focused on free-colored identities. Herman Bennett's use of 4,000 marriage records in Habsburg Mexico City reveals the "tenacity with which individuals adhered to ascribed cultural labels and ethnicities" among some enslaved Africans.[407] In the eighteenth century, Patrick Carroll has supported his claims of "racial interaction" within *afroveracruzano* communities using records of marriage witnesses and god parentage.[408] Although marriage records have done much for the

[404] Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 78. See also 78-85 for a more detailed discussion of marriage patterns.
[405] McCaa, "*Calidad*, Clase, and Marriage," 498.
[406] McCaa, "*Calidad*, Clase, and Marriage," 497
[407] Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 91.
[408] Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz*, 119.

study of free and enslaved blacks in the Americas, new source material on free-colored family is a welcome addition. As Bennett has observed, "At best, what we have now is a shadow of the reality of black domesticity that slave trade demographics and black marriage patterns reveal."[409]

The analyses of tribute registers in this chapter point to the influence of regional specificities upon exogamy and the scope of the tributary institution. About one-fifth of all records from this sample contain intermarriages between free-coloreds and Indians, *mestizos*, or Spaniards. Nearly half of these marriages came from a single register, that of Celaya. In this city and its surrounding parish, 525 exogamous marriages were recorded, compared with 463 endogamous ones. Other free-colored populations formed fewer exogamous marital connections. In Rosario, an urban silver mining center, just 17 marriages were exogamous among all living free-colored marriage partners (N=184). These remarkable differences in urban patterns may be traced to a variety of local factors. Celaya was a multiethnic city unlike Rosario which, though a hub for trade and commerce, was mostly free-colored and *mestizo* at the time.[410] Free-colored miners and their families lived and worked in and around Rosario, a center of non-Indian life in an area where many Indian groups maintained their autonomy in the face of Spanish authority.[411]

Compared with cities and their surrounding *barrios*, rural areas had lower rates of exogamy on these tribute registers. The register of Tlazazalca, comparable in size to that

---

[409] Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 144.
[410] Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 272.
[411] Ignacio del Río, *La Aplicación Regional de las Reformas Borbónicas en Nueva España: Sonora y Sinaloa, 1768-1787* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), 130.

of Celaya, contained one-quarter the number of exogamous marriages. The area of Ixcateopan showed that just ten of more than four hundred marriages were exogamous. These were rural agricultural zones where free-colored farmers participated in local commerce supplied the nearby mines, but spent the majority of their time farming and working on ranches or *haciendas*. Their marriage patterns reflect large concentrations of free-colored families in similar areas, and a preference for endogamous, nuclear families among farmers. These patterns and preferences reflect those of free-colored communities in other rural agricultural zones, where free-coloreds were numerous and exogamous partners scarce.[412] Central rural mining regions such as Zacualpan also had remarkably low rates of exogamy. Here, only 18 exogamous couples were recorded in 1801, just over four percent of total marriages (N=416). Half of these couples were made up of Spanish women and free-colored men. Just one *mestiza* was present, suggesting that perhaps women with mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry lived instead as Spanish. These exogamous couples were uncommon in this free-colored tributary community, as well as in other rural areas.

These patterns of intermarriage changed over time as well as by geography. Urban areas were simultaneously areas which allowed for more anonymity and more incorporation into state structures like tribute. Puebla de los Ángeles, second only to the capital in its administrative apparatus and economy, provides an example of both these phenomena. Between 1794 and 1800, the register decreased from 589 to 369 records, bringing endogamous marriages down from 59 percent (n=188) of total marriages to just

[412] Vinson, "The Racial Profile, 278-79.

36 percent (n=44).[413] The number of exogamous marriages recorded dropped by just a handful in this period of time. The registers demonstrate the extent to which Spanish people avoided registration alongside free-coloreds. In 1794, twenty-nine of them appeared married to free-colored men, while that number decreased to eight in 1800. In the same year, Spanish men had disappeared entirely as marriage partners. Forty-seven *mestizas* in 1794 dropped to three in 1800, with an additional three women labeled "*mestisindia*."[414] These changes speak to the important local and interpersonal factors which shaped tribute registers. First, the free-coloreds who avoided registration in 1800 may have been married to men and women of exempt castes. Second, commissioners in 1800 may have interpreted the *calidad* of one marital partner based on that of the other.

Other trends in the marriage data call into question the validity of using tributary censuses to approximate population characteristics. By far the most intermarriage occurred in the rural region of Huichapam, probably because the register was created toward a specific purpose (see Table 18). The document describes people who were free-colored tributaries, in order to prove that they had intermarried among other caste groups.[415] Similarly, the results for San Juan Tenochtitlán reinforce the importance of commissioner priorities in the recording process. In what was the most ethnically diverse and economically important city of its time in Spanish America, free-colored tributaries were rarely marrying non-tributaries. This characteristic of the register does not reflect population characteristics of the mid- and late-colonial periods. Free-coloreds preferred

[413] See BNAH, Puebla, rollos 43 and 44. The drop in tributary numbers is discussed in greater detail in the last part of this chapter.
[414] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43.
[415] AGN, Tierras vol. 1550, exp. 1.

endogamous marriages in the capital, but these unions were part of a larger pattern that included unions between free-coloreds and *mestizos*, Spaniards, *castizos*, Indians, and slaves.[416]

Coastal tribute registers show the greatest discrepancy between population characteristics and tributary populations. These registers were closely linked to military registers and prioritized male tributaries, sometimes exclusively. Some were drawn up as part of petitions from free-colored militia units to achieve tribute exemptions.[417] Registers from Tecpan, to the west, and Cozamaloapa, in Veracruz, show that no free-colored tributaries married outside their caste. While this is an interesting artifact of these tribute registers, it is impossible that these regions near major ports would experience no exogamy whatsoever (see Table 18). What seems more plausible is that this is a military list, since it included none of the more than one thousand living in the Cozamaloapa jurisdiction.[418] In the same region, *mulatos* outnumbered all other groups, but not all were tributaries.[419] In 1806, the list of "*pardos* and *morenos* capable of paying tribute" in the headtown included just 135 married and 81 *solteros*. In total, 350 men lived in the same town in 1804.[420] The commissioners who created these tribute registers envisioned them as exclusively male, free-colored spaces.

Only fourteen records (0.2 percent of the total sample) contain free-coloreds who were not labeled *mulato* or left without a caste marker. This small number of records

[416] See Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 107; Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 78-79; and Edgar F. Love, "Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial Mexico City Parish," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 1 (1971): 84.
[417] AGN, Tributos vol. 51 exp. 6.
[418] Florescano and Sánchez, *Descripciones económicas*, 94-95.
[419] Florescano and Sánchez, *Descripciones económicas*, 94.
[420] Florescano and Sánchez, *Descripciones económicas*, 94.

named seven *negros*, five *pardos*, and two *morenos*, all free. The use of *moreno* was confined to Aguatlán in Izúcar, but other terms were found scattered throughout tribute registers. None of these individuals married endogamously, and five were *solteros*. The most common intermarriages between these free-coloreds and other castes was with people who were recorded as (or claimed to be) of Spanish ancestry. As shown in Table 19, such individuals did not have predictable marriage patterns but were more likely to be male. The Guauchinango register showed *español* Eugenio de Castro as the husband of Rosalia, a *negra*, along with their two sons and two daughters.[421] *Pardo*, a common term in the titles of tribute registers for free-colored tribute, appears three times in San Juan in relation to exogamous couples. Caste terminologies were used in specific instances to track distinctive marriages or, very rarely, to indicate the potential for such marriages among *solteros*. Unmarried men received a handful of specific caste markers, perhaps in anticipation that they might enter into exogamous marriages. These individuals were not the norm and received special attention from the commissioner in their community because they did not have a *mulato calidad*.

[421] AGN, Tributos vol. 40, exp. 11, f. 222.

Table 19. *Non-mulato Free-coloreds and Marital Partners*

Caste	Unknown (absent spouse)	*Español/a*	*India*	*Mulata*	none	Reserved	Total
Moreno					1	1	2
Negro		1[a]	1	1	2		5
Negra	1	1					2
Pardo		1			2		3
Parda		2[b]					2
Total	1	5	1	1	5	1	14

Source: See Table 13.

[a]Includes one Spanish widow

[b]Includes one man who "claimed to be Spanish"[422]

Hundreds of non-tributaries and Indians made their way onto free-colored tribute registers every time these documents were drawn up. Free-colored male tributaries who married *mestizas* or Spanish women were in the majority on certain registers, even at mid-century.[423] Most of these people were the wives of *mulato* men, but other adults, children of Indians and *mulatos*, as well as some guardians of *mulato* children, also found themselves associated with free-colored tribute. On a 1774 register from Rosario, Don Luis de Ochoa, *español*, appeared as the widower of a *mulata* named Theresa Noyola, with whom he raised three children. Now adults, Juan Andrés 24, Josef Rafael 18, along with their fourteen-year-old brother Josef Antonio, appeared on the record with their father in the Barrio de la Iglesia, Rosario.[424] Upon their mother's death, these children remained tributaries, and, as long as they remained tied to their father's reputation, he would appear on the tribute register. Finally, the names of employers, *hacendados*, and individuals of unspecified caste were recorded. The presence of non-*mulatos*

[422] Indiferente Virreinal c. 1676, exp. 3, f 17v.

[423] See Norma Angélica Castillo's analysis of a free-colored tributary register in 1751 in "La pérdida de la población de origen africano en la región de Puebla," in *Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México*, ed. María Elisa Velázquez and Ethel Correa (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2005), 325.

[424] Ramírez Meza, "Matrícula y retasa," 175.

demonstrated the ways in which the register reflected Bourbon concerns with relationships, as well as the possibilities for interaction among groups of people at local levels.

Free-colored Family Formation: Tracking Children and Tributary Status

Building on the work of Ben Vinson and Cynthia Milton, this chapter contends that marital, genealogical, and adoptive familial relationships bound free-colored tributaries into social units that Bourbon reformers recognized as familial. These relationships were the cornerstone of disputes of tributary status and genealogies of privilege and obligation. Furthermore, the idea of the family fulfilled a patriarchal ideal that organized the tribute regime around a male head of household, a discourse that bureaucrats and ordinary people understood.[425] As discussed in the last chapter, the repeated use of family linkages such as "son of" and "mother of" were essential to tracking tributary dependents. The data these registers provided, from a quantitative perspective, show the complexity of free-colored social groups. In everyday life, the idea of "family" in late-colonial Mexico was somewhat fluid, determined by economic and social relationships that brought individuals together by birth, godparentage, marriage, labor contracts, and adoption.

[425] Richard Boyer, "Honor among Plebeians: Mala Sangre and Social Reputation" in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 162-63. See also Richard Boyer, "Women, *La Mala Vida,* and the Politics of Marriage," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, Asunción Lavrín, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 209-287.

The unit of the nuclear family with a male head of household was the norm for tribute in the sample. Despite this focus on "whole tributaries"—who were both the most socially acceptable and likely to pay—certain commissioners provided information about a diversity of family groups. A comparatively small number of tributary records gave a female primary name (n=503), most of whom were heads of households. A total of 358 households were headed by free-colored widows, 126 by *solteras*, and another handful of records of women of unspecified status, girls not yet eighteen, and widows of other castes. From these groups combined, 135 women were recorded alone (four of these were servants identified with places of work, and therefore probably did not live alone), while another 368 households were headed by women and contained dependents. Therefore, 131 households in this sample represent women who lived by themselves. In Mexico City at the end of the century, the household headed by a widow with children or *agregados* was even more common than in the current sample.[426]

[426] Marta Vera Bolaños, "La composición de la familia en la ciudad de México en 1790. Una reconstrucción demográfica," in *La población de la ciudad de México en 1790: estructura social, alimentación y vivienda*, ed. Manuel Miño Grijalva and Sonia Pérez Toledo (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 2004), 124.

Table 20. *Children in Female-headed Households*

Marital Status	No. of Records	Adult Sons[a]	Adult Daughters	Avg. Associated Individuals	Total Individuals
Mulata Widow	363	105	29	2.82	1024
Soltera	125	9	1	2.31	289
Divorced	1	0	0	2	2
Unspecified	5	0	0	2.25	10
Doncella	6	0	0	1	6
Indian Widow	4	0	0	3.5	14
Mestiza Widow	2	0	0	2	4
Spanish Widow	1	0	1	2	2
Total	507	114	31	2.66	1351

Source: See Table 13.

[a]Does not include unmarried sons with unknown whereabouts

Just seven records pertained to young girls who were registered independently of any family, most of them servants. Nearly all these girls were living in urban areas at the time of their registration. María Antonia Borge, Barbara Torres, and María Gertrudis all served in elite residences or workshops in Puebla in 1794.[427] By 1800, the girls' names had disappeared from the tributary record.[428] Other *doncellas* appeared in coastal regions as well as the Bajío. Across the sample, a handful of young girls who were not servants were listed with the names of their deceased fathers. The presence of girls on multiple registers confirms the prevalence of young black domestics in elite households, in workshops, and outside cities. Girls who worked as servants were probably not the head of any households, but they were characterized as independent tributaries because they had income.

Only one woman out of thousands recorded was labeled "*diborciada*" (divorced), in the coastal town of Santiago Tamiagua in Veracruz. In 1786, the commissioner for

[427] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43.
[428] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 44.

Guauchinango found Estefania Chavez, the sister of Juan Miguel Chavez, a fisherman and unmarried tributary. Both were children of María Antonia Chavez and Juan Miguel Chavez, now deceased. She lived as a divorced woman, though her earlier marriage is unspecified, with her only son, Felipe, age four.[429] Divorced individuals were unable to remarry while their spouse still lived,[430] so it is possible that Felipe had a living father. The fact that few women were divorced was in keeping with patterns at the time, when divorce was difficult to obtain, costly, and socially frowned upon.

Families were also run by multiple members who were not necessarily married. Brothers and sisters, as well as groups of unmarried women, lived under the same roof in cities like Celaya and the capital. Across the sample, brothers and sisters lived together without parents or spouses, as pairs of adults or as caretakers for younger siblings. Caretaker roles were more common among men who had never been married, who undertook responsibilities of guardianship for younger siblings in at least fourteen instances on the register. In Tamiagua, Manuel Lopez, the son of Mateo, lived with his two sisters Andrea and Francisca, both *doncellas*. Manuel requested that he be relieved of tribute duties (*reserva*) owing to a long-term illness which would have affected his livelihood as a fisherman and decreased his ability to pay tribute.[431]

Tribute registers also reveal households full of unmarried women in rural and urban settings. These houses could have been boarding houses, or brothels, though for the purposes of this census, most such houses were run by sisters. Unmarried women were of particular interest to commissioners when they lived in groups. In the Barrio del

[429] AGN, Tributos vol. 40, exp. 11, f. 209.
[430] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 208.
[431] AGN, Tributos vol. 40, exp. 11, 215v.

Anonal in Rosario, María Confianza Villela, a 40-year-old *soltera* lived with her sister Antonia, 30, were described as orphans and daughters of Josefa.[432] How exactly María Confianza and her sister maintained their property is not clear from the record. The same silence surrounds septuagenarian Ylariona Artieda and her fifty-year-old sister Manuela Josefa Artieda. These two women managed their own affairs at the same time that they raised twelve-year-old orphan Mariano, who, according to the record was of "unknown parentage." This vague category of illegitimacy placed Mariano on a continuum between bastard and legitimate child, one which he might navigate as an adult in order to remove this marker through legal means.[433]

The presence of children on the register demonstrates the dual purpose of the document as both tracking device for potential tributaries and a tool for categorizing the free-colored population from an early age. For the tribute registers in this sample, nearly one third (32.8 percent) of all individuals recorded were children. They were more frequent on some tribute registers than others. In the royal mines of Zacualpan, for example, only eight percent (n=28) of free-colored families recorded had children, with an average of about two each.[434] The register indicates nearly two hundred married couples with no dependents whatsoever, a pattern which was unlikely given the rate of population growth among free people of color across New Spain.[435]

---

[432] Ramírez Meza, "Matrícula y retasa," 189
[433] Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 26.
[434] AGN, Padrones vol. 51, exp. 133.
[435] Between 1742 and 1793, the free-colored population increased by as much as 30 percent. See Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 1.

Age was a defining characteristic of the tributary population, dividing children, adolescents, adults, and the elderly. When age was indicated on a record, it typically described the head of household and his dependents under eighteen. The *doncellas*, adolescent girls and young women, were an exception, since this measure of youth was based as much on honor as on age.[436] Those asking for relief from tribute often listed age, especially when this was a characteristic that drove the exemption. Some commissioners were interested in the organization of household by age, going as far as to list that certain children were twins (*cuates* or *gemelos*). Seven families contained twins: five sets of identical twin girls, one set of boys, and one fraternal pair. In Ixcateopan, a salt merchant called Toribio Hurtado and his wife had infant twins Micaela and Gerónmina. Linking these sets of siblings as twins was intended to further prevent future attempts to achieve tribute relief based on age. If Micaela denied tributary status in the future, a commissioner could consult the status of Gerónima, her twin and therefore tributary counterpart.

People with no known biological relationship to their families presented a special circumstance for tribute commissioners. Specific language detailing the adoptive and birth families, the age of the orphan, whether both parents were deceased, and where the orphan had come from were typical pieces of information a commissioner might include. Across the total sample, 62 records showed households containing minors who were not the biological children of the heads of household. Within this group were minors labeled orphans, stepchildren, nephews and nieces, grandchildren, in-laws, and godchildren. Thirty-eight households contained adopted orphans, twenty-seven contained children

[436] Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 194.

with some defined relationship to the heads of household, and three both orphans and adopted family members. The sexes of the children are relatively even, with 29 male orphans and 21 female. An additional 29 adopted family members were boys, while only 13 were girls were taken in by kin. Adoptions were most prevalent on the tribute registers of Rosario (n=12), Celaya (n=11), Guauchinango (n=14), and Ixcateopan (n=13); however adoptions never accounted for more than three percent of records on any one register. The diversity of examples demonstrates that adoption was not a wholly urban or rural phenomenon.

Cross-caste adoptions were rare on the tribute register, though they certainly occurred throughout colonial Mexico.[437] On the Hacienda of Peremoro in Celaya, Matias Marcelo, a *mulato*, and *mestiza* Ana Victoriana lived without biological children while caring for four "children of Ygnacio Dominguez, *indio* now deceased."[438] These children, three sons ages eight to twelve and María Margarita, a *soltera*, were listed "in their place," meaning on the Indian register. What relationship a *mulato-mestiza* couple had with a deceased Indian remains open to speculation, but Matias Marcelo and Ana Victoria had added Ignacio's four children to their household, a fact significant for the commissioner. These mixed households, complicated by the presence of children born to other individuals in the community, demanded close scrutiny on the part of officials who

[437] The secondary literature on sexuality and marriage occasionally references these cross-caste adoptions. See Richard E. Boyer, *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 95. Boyer has described a *loba* farmer named María who was raised by an Indian called Antonio. For a primary source example, see Chapter 5 and the case of Agustín González Múñiz, who was adopted by a *mulato* family.
[438] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31, f 133v.

wished to categorize and stabilize what appear to be somewhat fluid relationships of responsibility and child rearing.

Why families adopted orphans or minors from other households is never explicit on the register, but the variations in these relationships demonstrate the many interconnected families and community ties linking free-coloreds. Godparentage, adopting the brothers and sisters of a spouse, or caring for a spouse's children from another marriage were all expectations tied to Catholic relationships that had economic outcomes as well.[439] For those who chose to adopt orphaned children with no clear relationship to the adults, the presence of more members of the house both provided more labor and created more responsibilities. In the royal mine of Tecicapan, a *mulato* called Felipe Fatoya and his wife Anastacia Ortiz had a thirteen-year-old son, Juan, and an orphan named María Franquilina, a *soltera*.[440] Her age when she was adopted would not appear in the record, but her status as a *soltera* implies that she was old enough to earn a wage. Adopting orphans could also have been a method of caring for unrecognized offspring, though presumably many of these orphans had deceased parents. Finally, some couples who adopted children are specifically described as "without children" (*sin hijos*), meaning they did not have biological children. José Andres Garcia and his wife Juana María of Temascaltepec may just have likely adopted orphan Joaquín out of a desire to raise children.[441]

"Guardianship" refers here to a circumstance that involved some level of caretaking as well as responsibility, for the purposes of taxation. These relationships

[439] Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 92-93.
[440] AGN, Padrones vol. 51, exp. 133.
[441] AGN, Padrones vol. 49, exp. 227.

could have connotations of family as well as labor status. Using the phrase "like a son" ("*como hijo*"), adults justified these informal adoptive relationships that involved labor obligations on the part of the minor.[442] This group of "guardians" and their households included people who lived in someone else's house, or was placed under the care of an adult, sometimes a Spaniard. The term "charge of" (*a cargo de*) occurred 21 times across the sample, sometimes to refer to adoptions. In other cases, men or women who might be artisans, elites with servants, or owners of boarding houses took responsibility for locating free-colored tributaries. Another term, "*arrimado*," could be used to describe adoption of illegitimate children, but might also connote servitude or apprenticeship. In the town of Xereguaro in Celaya, a young boy called Juan Antonio Sanchez, already labeled "*soltero*" even at age eleven, was associated with a Spaniard named José Francisco Mireles.[443] Juan Antonio was part of a handful of individuals who could be found "close to" (*arrimado*) or "added to" (*agregado*) other people, terms which could refer to living arrangements or simply to registration. These methods showed how enmeshed the process of locating and describing free-colored populations was for commissioners. Echoing back the early-colonial ideal that free-colored live with "*amos conocidos*," the terms of closeness linked free-coloreds to guardians who could shoulder their tributary payments. At the same time, this practice dragged Spanish names and residences onto free-colored tribute registers, a place which could prove a dangerous space for reputational and caste-based confusion.

---

[442] Laura Sheltonin, "Like a Servant or Like a Son?: Circulating Children in Northwestern Mexico (1790-1850)," in *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ondina E. González and Bianca Premo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 219.
[443] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal c. 5555, exp. 31.

The fact that tributaries, including women and children, were tied to specific locations further reinforces the status of the free-colored tributary as fixed, either to place or to networks of family and labor. In this basic way, tributary characteristics undermined contemporary stereotypes about free-coloreds as migratory, shifty, and without residence.

The Absence of Calidad: How Tribute Registers Erased Distinctions of Caste

Markers of *calidad* or *casta* were modifiers in a larger group of two classes: the tributary and the non-tributary. Within the tribute register, *calidad* rarely appears as a marker of individual status. Commissioners titled their lists of tributaries using distinct terminologies of *calidad*, even if they were absent from the body of the register itself. The use of imperial instruments to apply categories across a local group shows the ways in which place and social identification were interrelated for the tribute regime. In jurisdictions where the free-colored militia presence was strong, like Guauchinango or Cozamaloapa, the titles of tribute registers reflected the terminology used in the names of militia units. The disconnect between the variety of caste markers listed on the titles of tribute registers but not in the body of the documents shows the streamlining of these documents to funnel all free-coloreds into a single tributary class divided by place and family connections rather than by caste terminology.

The free-colored tributary population spanned individuals of a variety of castes and *calidades* ranging from *mulatos* and *pardos* to *morenos* and *negros*. Most references

to *calidad* appeared only in the titles of the registers rather than alongside individual names. The creation of a blanket label for hundreds of families means that any caste designations must be treated with analytical caution. The presence or absence of caste markers would have been heavily dependent on commissioner preferences. However, the appearance of caste markers on these registers does reveal the care with which certain individuals were labeled, namely, those who were not *mulatos*. In the eighteenth century, the homogeneity of caste labels in the tribute system pointed to a goal of this institution: to label as many people as possible *mulatos*, and to label *mulatos* tributary.

A total of 365 records of free-coloreds in the sample specified *calidad*, though this number is skewed by the preference of the Rosario commissioner who recorded families specifically as *mulato* in 338 cases.[444] After Rosario, caste terminology was most common in Celaya, San Juan Tenochtitlán, and Zacualpan. The use of caste terminology depended on the commissioner, who might never write the term "*mulato*" except in the title of his register. When caste is specified, however, the patterns suggest a predominance of other castes over *negros*, who by definition had no Spanish or Indian blood. Even the five slaves in the sample were not listed as "*negros*." Instead they were simply a "slave" or, in two cases, a "*mulata esclava*." For example, in Huichapam, Juan de Dios, the slave (*esclavo*) of Don Manuel Villagran, was recorded with María Tomasa, an Indian, with whom he had two young sons.[445]

The presence or absence of terminologies of *calidad* on these registers demonstrates the attention commissioners paid to this social marker. The men who made

[444] Ramírez Meza, "Matrícula y retasa," 167-197.
[445] AGN, Tierras vol. 1550, exp. 1, f. 37v.

tribute registers, in the Kingdom of New Spain in particular, were unconcerned with the specificities of free-colored *calidad*. Ordinary people expressed a wide range of sentiments on the subject as evidenced in their petitions for tribute exemption. Some petitioners, as discussed in Chapter 5, cared about the details of genealogy within tribute. Others, however, simply wished to define themselves against the idea of a "tributary quality," a *calidad tributaria*. These conflicting interpretations among ordinary people and commissioners showed the Bourbon project to incorporate *calidad* into a simpler structure divided between tributary and non-tributary.

Part II: Imperial Translations

In Mexico City, accountants kept copies of local tribute registers, amassing vast amounts of information about individuals and families. These data would eventually reach imperial authorities as a series of summaries of accounts produced systematically after 1768. These so-called "states" of accounts (*estados*), through their use of this term, embodied "the link between papers, charts, thoroughness and bureaucracy."[446] This section of the chapter addresses how these summaries were structured, and what the meaning of these instruments—the summary and the *padrón*—was in tandem. In doing so, the chapter follows the expansion of tribute in terms of registration and collection. The summaries represented further steps in the process of bringing information about tributary potential and production from local areas to the viceregal capital, and eventually to Spain. The combination of counting tributaries and collection in the same document

[446] Lafuente and Valverde, "Making Scientific Objects," 116-117.

further commodified the free-colored tributary body. Whereas the tribute register focused on reproduction, family, and community, the summary is a reflection of massive amounts of data that translated into a commodification of tributary bodies. The summary combines demographic and economic data in ways that were easily understood and streamlined, producing an imperial vision of free-colored tributaries and their importance for taxation.

Representations of Colonial Data

The process of distilling, translating, and transferring information that began with the tribute register continued at the viceregal level. A document from 1805 describes the local impact of tribute based on the number of individuals, and their different social categories in various jurisdictions (see Figures 3 and 4).[447] Though this documents has been used as a source of population data in other scholarly work,[448] the visual structure and its meanings for representing data has not been studied. The information was grouped visually into larger administrative units put into place under the Ordinance of Intendants. By standardizing the information, the accountants who created these documents each year attempted to approximate the annual value from what they saw as the varied and somewhat disorganized processes of each locale. This kind of mapping of local information allowed for easier evaluation and comparison of tributary output or potential.

[447] AGN, Tributos vol. 43, exp. 9.
[448] Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 1, 283-284.

This process brings together the total numbers of tributaries in various regions, evaluating their potential to increase the sizes of their tributary populations. For example, in the western coastal city of Acapulco, in 1804, a commissioner created or copied a list of Indians and free-coloreds (see Figures 3 and 4). When accountants in Mexico City reprocessed that list of thousands of names, they grouped people by caste and class, age, marital status, and legal status. These tributary classes represented another way in which tribute officials avoided the caste system as the sole basis for legal, social, and economic categories. Separated visually from other groups is the class of Indians in towns (*indios de pueblo*), who had specific legal and property rights, as well as obligations, within the colonial order. Next are listed the Indian wage-laborers (*indios laboríos y vagos*), a group not defined by place of origin but by expanding systems of free wage labor. Finally, the free blacks and mulattos (*negros y mulatos libres*) are grouped together via a small bracket with the other wage laborers. This practice presents a visual example of the ways in which tribute subsumed categories based on caste, labor, and legal status in order to provide a standard method for counting people either together or separately.

At the far end of the page are the total whole tributaries, counted as married couples. Following that total are additional totals, which are figures, based on manipulations of the data. After the total tributaries, bureaucrats would have seen a prediction of the total tributaries using a new system of counting implemented under the Ordinance of Intendants. This document takes on political undertones in its support of the counting methods introduced under the Ordinance. Here we can see proof of

improved counting methods, according to the treasury. In Acapulco, the total number of Indian tributaries increased by just eight percent. But the new system of counting would increase free-colored tributaries by nearly one quarter. This general trend was true across New Spain: free-colored numbers increased dramatically in the late-eighteenth century (see Table 21). Though some growth can be attributed to population expansion, the successes of free-colored tribute were based largely on more aggressive registration and innovations in counting.

The translation of this information from local list to imperial map culminated in a different survey of all the funds collected and deductions made to Royal Tributes. The structure of this *estado* is similarly placed on a grid, as shown in Figures 3 and 4. These summaries of all the distinct charges in the Branch of Tributes were carefully constructed data sets, repackaged yet again to express an annual overview of tributary finance in New Spain. Housed in Seville after 1785, these grids embody the centralization of knowledge and authority that scholars have long associated with late-Bourbon rule. The production of these documents embodies this process of centralization. The last step for tribute as a branch of the Royal Treasury was this guide to the accounts and residents of these local jurisdictions.

The documents themselves are rather large, spanning more than 30 inches in length and around 20 inches in width. The visual priorities place economic value first, or what accountants saw as the end result of the demographic data gathered in the previous stages of documentation. The first column after name of the jurisdiction contains the "total

value of the contribution of Indian, *mulato*, *laborío*, and *vago* tributaries."[449] At the far end column 19, divided into four parts, which notes the number of "fixed Indians in towns," *laboríos* and *vagos*, free blacks and *mulatos*, and the total of these three groups. Additional columns deducted ecclesiastical taxes, exemptions, and other fees. In the final columns the viewer comes full circle, having seen both the value produced in each place and its populations of taxpayers.

The Expansion of Tributary Populations and Payments between 1768 and 1788

Both free-colored and Indian tributary communities expanded in this period. Overall, the numbers are highly disparate: Indian tribute expanded by around 13 percent (see Table 21), the low end of the estimate the Charles Gibson gives for the period between 1797 and 1800.[450] In contrast, the number of free-colored tributaries more than doubled between 1769 and 1788 (see Table 21). These figures also point to rates of change in individual jurisdictions. Some of the most lucrative and populated jurisdictions (Guanajuato, Michoacán, and others) periodically avoided registration. These rapid changes in tributary population, driven by local politics and mining concessions, affected the overall state of the free-colored tributary population. Among Indian tributaries in towns, the average percent change in all jurisdictions from 1769 to 1788 was 19.6 percent growth. Adjusting for missing data in the first or last year of collection, that figure rose to closer to 21.5 percent. For *mulatos*, adjusting for gaps in the first or final two years of registration, growth reached 338.4 percent on average. These rapid changes in local

[449] AGI, Mexico leg. 2104.
[450] Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule,* 208.

tributary populations did not result in huge population increases, but rather were the result of dramatic changes in smaller communities.

Table 21. *Indian and Mulato Tributaries, 1769-1788*

Year	Indians	*Mulatos*	Totals
1769	371567.5	11351.5	382919
1770	367084	10522.5	377606.5
1771	399255	16029	415284
1772	404414	14823	419237
1773	413956	20151.5	434107.5
1774	404928	17997.5	422925.5
1775	412655.5	19338.5	431994
1176	432368.5	24366	456734.5
1777	440970	25287.5	466257.5
1778	424053.5	13837.5	437891
1780	425482	15764	441246
1782	443602	17254	460856
1783	448927.5	18472	467399.5
1784	449580	19501.5	469081.5
1787	418870.5	23521	442391.5
1788	419582.5	24926	444508.5
Percent change	12.9%	119.6%	16.1%

Source: AGI Mexico legs. 2104, 2105

Less than half of all jurisdictions contained more than 100 free-colored tributaries at any given time in the twenty-year period. The sixty-two jurisdictions that did contain larger populations were not limited to any particular region. Larger tributary populations of free-coloreds were especially prevalent in west central and northern New Spain. The wealthy mining areas at San Luis Potosí and Guanajuato, as well as the jurisdictions surrounding Guadalajara, seem to have experienced greater and more complete registration. Along the coasts, fewer free-coloreds were registered in 1788; some of these communities. In contrast, jurisdictions like Zacatula avoided registration in this twenty-

year period, only to be incorporated by the tribute regime in later years.[451] These coastal and interior mining areas represented two extremes; the majority of jurisdictions contained small populations, most of which were growing. In 1788, the general pattern for a jurisdiction was to have a tributary population that was less than ten percent free-colored (see Table 22).

Table 22. *Free-coloreds as a Percentage of Total Tributaries in 1788*

Free-colored percentage	Number of Jurisdictions
More than 50%	1
40% to 50%	1
30% to 40%	3
20% to 30%	7
10% to 20%	21
1% to 10%	54
Less than 1%	52
No data	14
Total	153

Source: AGI Mexico legs. 2104, 2105

Only eight jurisdictions contained a free-colored tributary population that represented more than a quarter of the overall tributary group. These jurisdictions were Chietla in the Province of Puebla; Tancítaro, Xaso y Teremendo, Tlazazalca, and Xacona y Zamora in the Province of Valladolid; Autlan and Colima in the Province of Guadalajara; and San Luis Potosi in the Province of Potosi. These jurisdictions contained urban areas, mines, ports, and ranches, demonstrating the wide variety of places free-colored tributaries lived and worked. Especially evident is the flux of tributaries in Valladolid, where markets were expanding and wage laborers in high demand. These

[451] Gerhard, *A Guide*, 396.

data also show the importance and stability of other free-colored communities like that of Chietla, which bordered areas of intense sugar production. In Autlan and Colima, both of which stood between Guadalajara and coastal ports like Manzanillo, populations seem to have fluctuated but grown like other jurisdictions with ties to Guadalajara. Finally, San Luis Potosi showed the same unpredictable stance toward free-colored tribute that had bothered administrators at the beginning of the century. Potentially a lucrative area with thousands of free-colored tributaries, this area periodically drew and lost workers and residents depending on economic cycles and local politics regarding taxation.

Table 23. *Free-colored Tributaries in Eight Jurisdictions, 1769-1788*

Year	Chietla	Tancítaro	Xaso y Teremendo[b]	Autlan	San Luis Potosí	Tlazazalca	Colima	Xacona y Zamora
1769	110.5	82	109.5	209		132	467.5	249.5
1770	108.5	156	109.5			132		249.5
1771	108.5	156	109.5	209		132	467.5	249.5
1772	108.5	156	109.5	259		132	467.5	490.5
1773	108.5	156	128.5	209	3292	132	467.5	490.5
1774	108.5	156	128.5	657.5	3292	146	471.5	490.5
1775	139	366.5	120.5	399.5	3292	146	471.5	490.5
1776	139	366.5	120.5	399.5	3292	146	471.5	490.5
1777	139	366.5	120.5	506	3292	146	471.5	467
1778	139.5	366.5	167	506		146	471	467
1780	118.5	366.5	167	506		568.5	716.5	467
1782	118.5	402.5	167	506		568.5	716.5	467
1783	118.5	402.5	167	555		568.5	716.5	467
1784	118.5	402.5	167	555		568.5	716.5	1468
1787	153	402.5	195	555	2435	633	782.5	
1788	153	402.5	195	555	2435	633	782.5	
Percent change	38.5%	390.9%	78.1%	165.6 %	-26.0%	379.5%	67.4%	488.4%
Percent overall in 1788[c]	28.9%	29.0%	29.8%	33.1%	35.4%	36.8%	43.5%	57.9%

Source: AGI Mexico legs. 2104, 2105

[b]Xaso and Teremendo were towns within Valladolid after 1786

[c]Indicates free-coloreds as a percentage of the tributary population in a single year

Like the collection of information, the flow of tax revenues from individual jurisdictions varied based on region. Some were unstable, such as Celaya, Potosi, and Michoacán, all areas with large tax bases and large free-colored labor forces. Free-coloreds avoided tribute for two entire decades in twenty different jurisdictions, including the *parcialidades* of Mexico City and the mines at Zumpango. Despite these failures in what might have been the most lucrative areas, overall collection expanded along with registration between 1768 and 1788 (see Table 24).

Table 24. *Total Charged from All Tributaries in Pesos, 1768-1788*

Year	Total Charged
1768	627195.3
1769	645286
1770	726066.1
1771	651234.7
1772	603651.8
1773	710408.5
1774	663149.1
1775	726559.3
1176	763161.9
1777	791788.6
1778	945737.1
1780	889616.7
1782	934728.2
1783	897966.1
1784	917774.6
1785	712670.3
1786	556563.3
1787	917745.1
1788	844698.8

Source: AGI Mexico legs. 2104, 2105

For the first ten years of these summaries, accountants included the estimated amounts of collection (*tanteos*) from people of different castes and legal statuses. Table

25 shows that what authorities expected to gain from charging free-colored tributaries was never the lion's share of local tribute payments. Though these payments were clearly never expected to surpass, or even approximate, those of Indian tributaries, accountants in Mexico City saw free-colored tributaries as potential sources of untapped revenue.

Table 25. *Estimated Payments from Mulatos, 1768-1777*

Year	Estimated Charges from *Mulatos*	Total Charged from All Tributaries	Estimated Mulato Charges as a percent of Total
1768	25530.0	627195.3	4.1%
1769	24381.5	645286	3.8%
1770	30583.9	726066.1	4.2%
1771	50276.5	651234.7	7.7%
1772	24462.0	603651.8	4.1%
1773	29572.3	710408.5	4.2%
1774	28674.8	663149.1	4.3%
1775	26277.0	726559.3	3.6%
1776	29075.8	763161.9	3.8%
1777	29742.8	791788.6	3.8%

Source: AGI Mexico legs. 2104, 2105

At its zenith, the free-colored tribute regime finally extended to the lucrative mining zones of the near-North, or so viceregal accountants claimed. In the near-North, bureaucrats finally realized their goals of the early eighteenth century, having more than doubled the free-colored tributary population in San Luis Potosi between 1794 and 1805 (see Table 26). This success was unparalleled by other regions, save Guadalajara.[452] Excluding Guadalajara (as well as Arizpe and Zacatecas, which lack data), the increase in the free-colored population (37.14 percent) more closely approximates that of the increase overall in all tributaries (27.74 percent). Both of these rates show considerable

[452] Cook and Borah do not offer an explanation for the sudden expansion of tribute in this area.

expansion and demonstrate the increasing potential of the tribute regime to access and categorize tributary subjects, both free-colored and Indian.

Table 26. *Free-colored Tributaries as Percent of Total Tributaries in 1794 and 1805*

Provincia	Free-colored, 1794	Total Tributaries, 1794	Free-colored, 1805	Total, Tributaries 1805[a]	Increase in Free-colored	Increase in Total Tributaries
Veracruz	1284	30706.5	1330.5	33867	3.62%	10.29%
Arizpe			2369	4345		
Puebla	2405.5	94350.5	2400.5	113174	-0.21%	19.95%
Oaxaca	2460	81679	2905.5	95952	18.11%	17.47%
Guanajuato	7701	47328	8086	62874	5.00%	32.85%
Mexico	8159.5	197088.5	10923	257230	33.87%	30.51%
Valladolid	9457	36203.5	12455	46804	31.70%	29.28%
Potosi	3760.5	15157.5	10212	32004	171.56%	111.14%
Zacatecas			12768	23459		
Guadalajara	2101	14107	14885.5	46682	608.50%	230.91%
Totals	37328.5	516620.5	78335	716391	109.85%	38.67%

Source: AGI, Mexico leg. 1583; AGN, Tributos vol. 43 exp. 9
[a]Calculated under the old system of counting.[453]

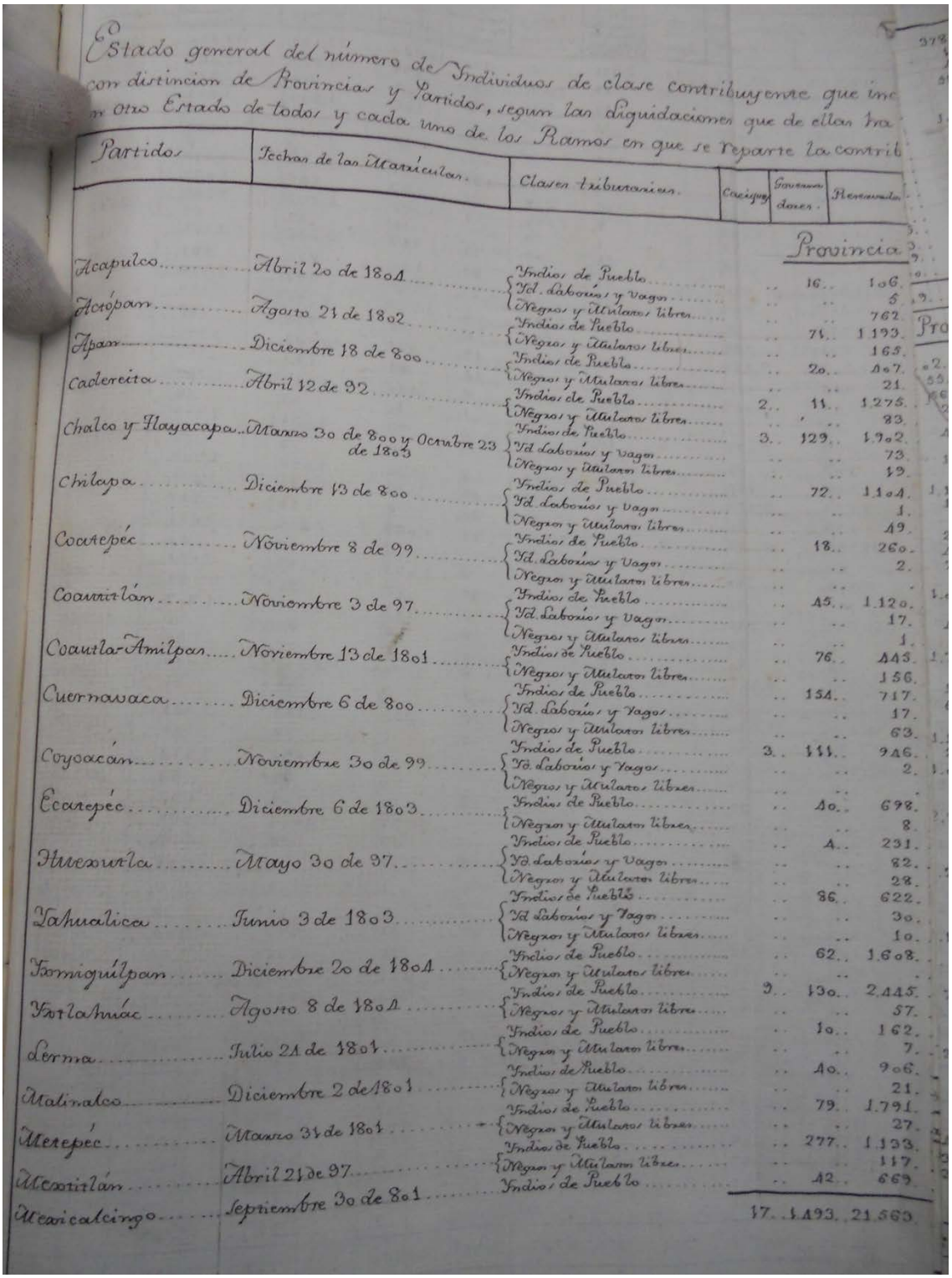
Conclusions

Tribute registers and summaries were part of a wider process of imperial knowledge-making and visual representation promoted by bureaucrats in Spain and its colonies.[454] Creating numeric data from qualitative sources had the effect of distilling the caste system, family lineages, and other interpersonal relationships into delimited tributary categories. The first step in this process, the local tribute register, gave bureaucrats in Mexico City access to certain characteristics of free-colored tributaries.

[453] Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 1, 283-284.
[454] Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 7. On Enlightenment science in the Spanish Atlantic, see also Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science In the Iberian World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); and Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

While some data uphold Bourbon discourses about family, such as the importance of appropriate female labor, they undermined other stereotypes. Free-colored tributary subjects were not representative of contemporary negative notions about mobility and unreliability in tax payments. Another aspect that many of these tributary portraits of free-coloreds shared was a connection between economic production and sexual reproduction. Many of the categories that interested colonial authorities as they gathered data on local free-colored families and communities show tribute as a site of production and reproduction of blackness.

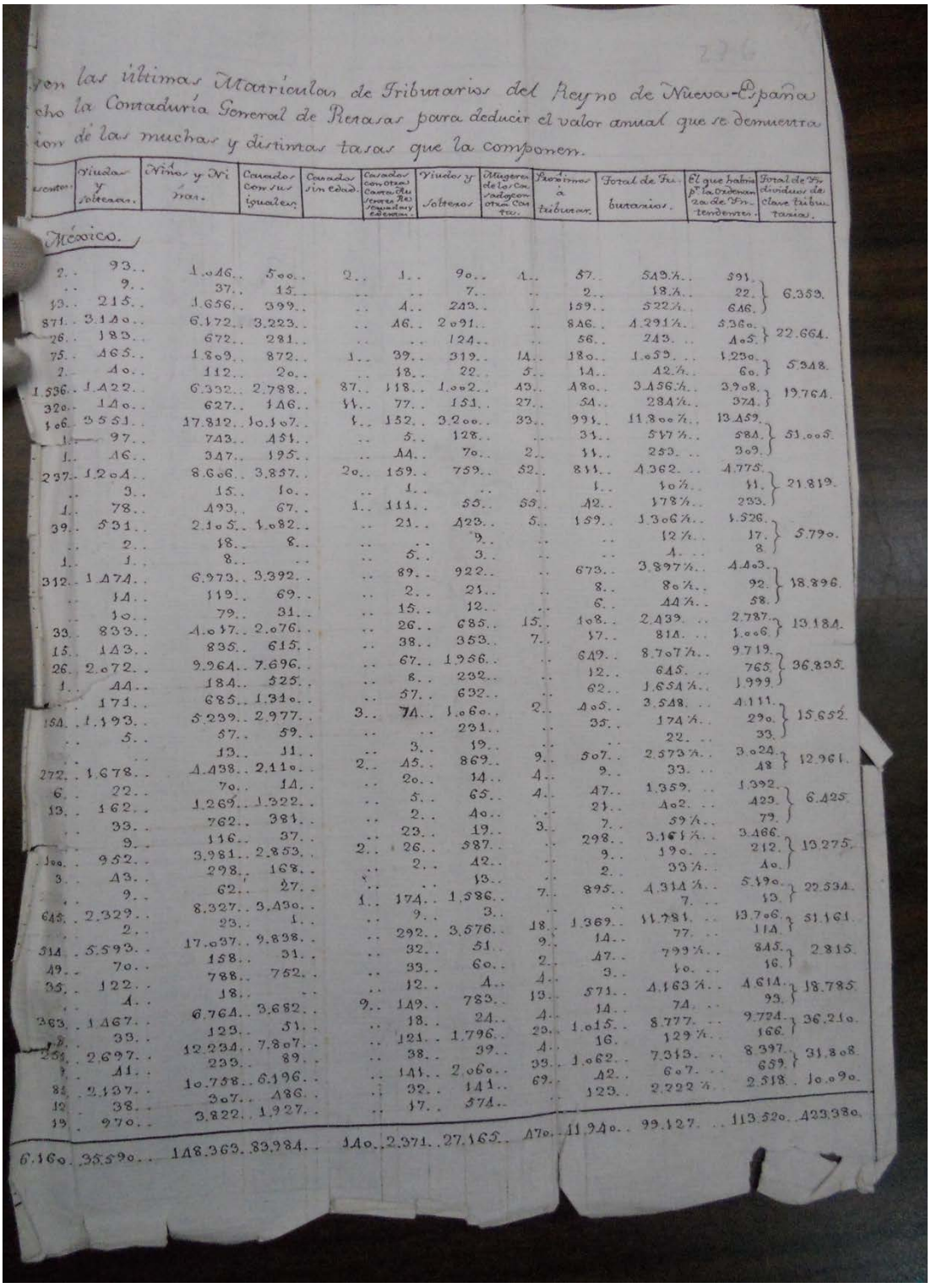
These spaces of defining blackness operated within tribute as tracking devices not only for free-coloreds; the register was also a space in which relationships with free people of color determined social and genealogical webs. If *mestizos* or Spaniards became associated with free-coloreds, exempt names and families would be inscribed into this space as well. Connections with free-coloreds, within bureaucratic or physical space, could—accidentally or by malicious means—mark individuals of any *calidad* as a source of revenue for the Crown. At the level of the jurisdictional summary, these minutiae of interpersonal connections were erased, as names turned to tallies and tallies to totals.



Estado general del número de Individuos de clase contribuyente que inc
con distincion de Provincias y Partidos, segun las liquidaciones que de ellas ha
en otro Estado de todos y cada uno de los Ramos en que se reparte la contrib

Partidos	Fechas de las Matrículas	Clases tributarias	Caciques	Gobernadores	Reservados
					Provincia
Acapulco	Abril 20 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	16..	106.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	5.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	762.
Acápan	Agosto 21 de 1802	Indios de Pueblo	..	71..	1.193.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	165.
Apan	Diciembre 18 de 800	Indios de Pueblo	..	20..	807.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	21.
Cadereita	Abril 12 de 92	Indios de Pueblo	2..	11..	1.275.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	83.
Chalco y Hayacapa..	Marzo 30 de 800 y Octubre 23 de 1803	Indios de Pueblo	3..	129..	1.902.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	73.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	19.
Chilapa	Diciembre 13 de 800	Indios de Pueblo	..	72..	1.104.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	1.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	49.
Coatepec	Noviembre 8 de 99	Indios de Pueblo	..	18..	260.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	2.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	.
Coamitlán	Noviembre 3 de 97	Indios de Pueblo	..	45..	1.120.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	17.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	1.
Coautla-Amilpas	Noviembre 13 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	76..	443.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	156.
Cuernavaca	Diciembre 6 de 800	Indios de Pueblo	..	154..	717.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	17.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	63.
Coyoacán	Noviembre 30 de 99	Indios de Pueblo	3..	111..	946.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	2.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	.
Ecatepec	Diciembre 6 de 1803	Indios de Pueblo	..	40..	698.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	8.
Huexutla	Mayo 30 de 97	Indios de Pueblo	..	4..	231.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	82.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	28.
Jahualica	Junio 3 de 1803	Indios de Pueblo	..	86..	622.
		Yd. Labores y Vagos	..	..	30.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	10.
Jonigúlpan	Diciembre 20 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	62..	1.608.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	.
Jxtlahuác	Agosto 8 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	3..	130..	2.445.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	57.
Lerma	Julio 21 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	10..	162.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	7.
Malinalco	Diciembre 2 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	40..	906.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	21.
Metepec	Marzo 31 de 1801	Indios de Pueblo	..	79..	1.791.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	27.
Mexicalcingo	Septiembre 30 de 801	Indios de Pueblo	..	277..	1.133.
		Negros y Mulatos libres	..	..	117.
Mexitlán	Abril 21 de 97	Indios de Pueblo	..	42..	669.
			17..	1.493..	21.563.

Figure 3. Selection from the "Estado general" from the Provincia de México. Source: AGN, Tributos 43, exp. 9, f. 275 v. (Document is torn in half.)



...ven las ultimas Matriculas de Tributarios del Reyno de Nueva-España ...cho la Contaduría General de Retasas para deducir el valor anual que se demuestra ...ion de las muchas y distintas tasas que la componen.

...cientos	Viudas y Solteras.	Niños y Niñas.	Casados con sus iguales.	Casados sin edad.	Casados con otras / Casados con otras sobre las iguales y exentas.	Viudos y Solteros	Mugeres de los Casados adoptivos otra Cosa.	Parroquias a tributar.	Total de Tributarios.	El que habia p.ª la Dotacion 20 de Intendente.	Total de Vividores de clave tributarias.	
México.												
2.	93.	1.046.	500.	2.	1.	900.	1.	57.	549½.	591.		
..	9.	37.	15.	..	..	7.	..	2.	18½.	22.	}	6.359.
13.	215.	1.656.	399.	..	4.	243.	..	159.	522½.	646.		
871.	3.140.	6.172.	3.223.	..	46.	2.091.	..	846.	4.291½.	5.360.		
26.	183.	672.	281.	..	..	124.	..	56.	243.	405.	}	22.664.
75.	465.	1.809.	872.	1.	39.	319.	14.	180.	1.059.	1.230.		
2.	40.	112.	20.	..	18.	22.	5.	14.	42½.	60.	}	5.348.
1.536.	1.422.	6.332.	2.788.	87.	118.	1.002.	43.	480.	3.456½.	3.908.		
320.	140.	627.	146.	11.	77.	151.	27.	54.	284½.	374.	}	19.764.
106.	3551.	17.812.	10.107.	1.	152.	3.200.	33.	991.	11.800½.	13.459.		
1.	97.	743.	451.	..	5.	128.	..	31.	547½.	584.	}	51.005.
1.	46.	347.	195.	..	44.	70.	2.	11.	253.	309.		
237.	1.204.	8.606.	3.857.	20.	159.	759.	52.	811.	4.362.	4.775.		
..	3.	15.	10.	..	1.	..	..	1.	10½.	11.	}	21.819.
1.	78.	493.	67.	1.	111.	55.	55.	42.	178½.	233.		
39.	531.	2.105.	1.082.	..	21.	423.	5.	159.	1.306½.	1.526.		
..	2.	18.	8.	..	..	9.	..	..	12½.	17.	}	5.790.
1.	1.	8.	..	..	6.	3.	..	..	4.	8		
312.	1.474.	6.973.	3.392.	..	89.	922.	..	673.	3.897½.	4.403.		
..	14.	119.	69.	..	2.	21.	..	8.	80½.	92.	}	18.896.
..	10.	79.	31.	..	15.	12.	..	6.	44½.	58.		
33.	833.	4.037.	2.076.	..	26.	685.	15.	108.	2.439.	2.787.	}	13.184.
15.	143.	835.	615.	..	38.	353.	7.	57.	814.	1.006.		
26.	2.072.	9.964.	7.696.	..	67.	1.956.	..	649.	8.707½.	9.719.	}	36.895.
1.	44.	184.	525.	..	8.	232.	..	12.	645.	765.		
..	171.	685.	1.310.	..	57.	632.	..	62.	1.654½.	1.999.		
154.	1.193.	5.239.	2.977.	3.	74.	1.060.	2.	405.	3.548.	4.111.	}	15.652.
..	5.	57.	59.	..	..	231.	..	35.	174½.	290.		
..	..	13.	11.	..	3.	19.	..	..	22.	33.		
272.	1.678.	4.438.	2.110.	2.	45.	869.	9.	507.	2.573½.	3.024.	}	12.961.
6.	22.	70.	14.	..	20.	14.	4.	9.	33.	48		
13.	162.	1.269.	1.322.	..	5.	65.	4.	47.	1.359.	1.392.	}	6.425.
..	33.	762.	381.	..	2.	40.	..	21.	402.	423.		
..	9.	116.	37.	..	23.	19.	3.	7.	59½.	79.		
100.	952.	3.981.	2.853.	2.	26.	587.	..	298.	3.161½.	3.466.	}	13.275.
3.	43.	298.	168.	..	2.	42.	..	9.	190.	212.		
..	9.	62.	27.	..	..	13.	..	2.	33½.	40.		
645.	2.329.	8.327.	3.490.	1.	174.	1.986.	7.	895.	4.314½.	5.190.	}	22.534.
..	2.	23.	1.	..	9.	3.	..	..	7.	13.		
514.	5.593.	17.037.	9.838.	..	292.	3.576.	18.	1.369.	11.781.	13.706.	}	51.161.
49.	70.	158.	31.	..	32.	51.	9.	14.	77.	114.		
35.	122.	788.	752.	..	33.	60.	2.	47.	799½.	845.	}	2.815.
..	4.	18.	..	..	12.	4.	4.	3.	10.	16.		
363.	1.467.	6.764.	3.682.	9.	149.	783.	13.	571.	4.163½.	4.614.	}	18.785.
2.	33.	123.	51.	..	18.	24.	4.	14.	74.	93.		
256.	2.697.	12.234.	7.807.	..	121.	1.796.	29.	1.015.	8.777.	9.724.	}	36.210.
1.	41.	239.	89.	..	38.	39.	4.	16.	129½.	166.		
85.	2.137.	10.758.	6.196.	..	141.	2.060.	33.	1.062.	7.313.	8.397.	}	31.808.
12.	38.	307.	486.	..	32.	141.	69.	42.	607.	659.		
19.	970.	3.822.	1.927.	..	17.	574.	..	123.	2.222½.	2.518.		10.090.
6.160.	35.590.	148.363.	83.984.	140.	2.371.	27.165.	470.	11.940.	99.127.	113.520.		423.380.

Figure 4. Selection from the "Estado general" from the Provincia de México. Source: AGN, Tributos 43, exp. 9, f. 276. (Document is torn in half.)

Chapter 5

"He Did Not Share at All in Our Blood"[455]:

Lineage and Disputed Tributary Status

"And shall it be lawful that *calidad* be doubtful and the imposition of tribute certain?"
Joseph María Beltrán, Royal Court of Accounts, 1800[456]

In 1787, a group of Indians from the town of Almoloya, in central Mexico, aired their grievances against several prominent local leaders. The petitioners claimed that their predominantly Indian community was plagued by a group of free-colored people who were masquerading as Indian nobles, or *caciques*, and enjoying privileges to which only those with noble lineage were entitled. One of these was exemption from the economically onerous and socially stigmatized royal tribute. To prove that these suspicious people were tributaries, those lodging the complaint turned to lineage. They named more than a dozen people who lived as *caciques*, adding that those same individuals were "mixed with blacks and *mulatos* and should be registered and pay tribute with those of that class."[457] Despite their attempts to fashion themselves into *caciques*, the accused families had not erased from communal memory the occupations, castes, and places of origin of various ancestors. Members of the Sánchez family were "grandchildren of a *negro* shoemaker called Martín"; the Granillos were "descendants of

[455] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 130, f. 181v -182.
[456] AGN, Tributos vol. 55 exp. 12, f. 345.
[457] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 189, f. 68.

Juan Granillo married to a known *mulata* servant"; the list of possible free-coloreds was exhaustive.[458]

These "notorious *mulatos*" had gained exemptions awarded to Tlaxcalans who had served the Spanish fighting hostile groups more than two and a half centuries before. This concern with the mixture of elite Indian and black blood resonated where Tlaxcalan, Nahua, or other Indian groups enjoyed place- and genealogy-specific tribute privileges.[459] For their unique status to remain valid, the complainants reasoned, the Tlaxcalans should have pursued marital unions which would have preserved a lineage "without degeneration from the class of Indians or *mestizos de españoles*," a caste category specifying a Spanish father and an Indian mother.[460] The use of "degeneration (*degeneración*)" draws on an older rhetoric of purity as well as hereditary concepts that would become popular in the nineteenth century.[461] The repeated references to the "mixed natures (*naturalezas mescladas*)" and "inferior reputation (*calidad*)"[462] of these individuals undermined their authority as *caciques*, a status predicated on publicly regarded and written genealogies. How, wondered the petitioners, could these people possibly prove a Tlaxcalan bloodline, considering their publicly reputed lineage of blackness?

Eighteenth-century tributary disputes demonstrated the plethora of terms that defined a non-tributary genealogy, including *clase*, *casta*, and *calidad*. The "pure

[458] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 189, f. 68v.
[459] Laura E. Matthew, *Memories of Conquest: Becoming Mexicano in Colonial Guatemala* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 116.
[460] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 189, f. 68v.
[461] Fabricio González-Soriano, "Herencia patológica en la medicina mexicana de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX," *El Boletín Mexicano de Historia y Filosofía de la Medicina* 11, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.
[462] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 189, f. 68.

Indians" of Almoloya, as Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores Maldonado dubbed them in his decision, upheld proof of ancestry and reputation as prerequisites for exercising rights and privileges allocated to elites. Ordinary people, as well as bureaucrats, voiced diverse ideas about lineage, preserved in legal petitions like the proof of purity of blood (*probanza de limpieza de sangre*), requests to officially change one's caste (*gracias al sacar*), and tribute exemptions. Though they shared commonalities with other proceedings based on genealogy, cases that addressed tributary status were specifically associated with an economic burden as well as *calidad*. One historian has argued that creole elites could not "imagine their kingdom without recourse to ideas of lineage and purity,"[463] and cases for tribute exemption show the extent to which these ideas also mattered to members of other castes.

This chapter draws on petitions and other legal documents that discussed tribute exemption for free-colored people. Of the 95 exemption cases for free-coloreds that make up the total sample for the dissertation, 77 come from after the Gálvez *visita* and are the evidentiary base for this chapter (see Appendix 2). Eighteen of these were requests from free-colored militiamen and their representatives for tribute exemption based on their service to the crown.[464] The rest originated with individuals, families, and sometimes entire towns. An overall rate of success cannot be determined based on this small sample, but at least forty-three of these cases resulted in exemption. Other decisions have been lost or separated from the cases themselves. For these reasons, the

[463] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 199.
[464] For a discussion of exemption and the free-colored militias see Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 145-172.

focus of the chapter is an analysis of the language of the cases, rather than their success in securing exemption for petitioners.

The following analyses show some of the ways in which people in late eighteenth century New Spain understood the inheritance of tributary obligations and privileges. The chapter argues that genealogy remained the basis of many tribute petitions, investigations, and lawsuits. The chapter treats these types of legal proceedings and documents together because they contain the opinions of viceregal bureaucrats, local officials, and ordinary people regarding who counted as a tributary subject. Contemporary debates about tributary status incorporated and reinterpreted concepts of heredity, physiognomy, genealogy, and class. At the end of the eighteenth century, high-ranking bureaucrats in the Royal Treasury decided that genealogy would remain the defining feature of tributary status.

The Law and Language of Tribute Exemption

Calidad in tribute petitions and disputes was often associated with both caste and class, reflecting a growing focus on socioeconomic status, in addition to caste, as a social marker.[465] *Calidad* could combine with categories of caste (*calidad de mulato*), labor and class (*calidad de maestro*), and tribute (*calidad de tributario*). Substitutions between the "tributary quality" (*calidad tributaria*), "tributary caste" (*casta tributaria*), and the "tributary class" (*clase tributaria*) suggested that these designations were mutually dependent, even circular. The same people who comprised the tributary class would also

[465] María Elena Martínez, "The Language, Genealogy, and Classification of 'Race,' 37.

have tributary qualities and belong to a tributary caste. But, like its unstable and malleable predecessor, caste, *calidad* brought with it opportunities for both self-definition and bureaucratic categorization.

Some individuals and families litigated or petitioned their way toward relief from taxation and away from free-colored status altogether. When tributaries sought exemption in court, they and their legal representatives constructed genealogical, legal, or social resources that could remove tributary status. An exempt genealogy connected a family to ancestors who had possessed a non-tributary *calidad*, nobility, or privileges granted by the Crown. The use of genealogy to gain tax exemption had Iberian precedents. In Castile, individuals could gain royal tax exemptions through what were termed "*pleitos de higualdía*."[466] The term *pleito*, uncommon in tribute exemption, appeared when tributaries accused local officials were bureaucrats of poor administration or using tribute for personal vendettas. Petitions, in contrast, occasionally complained of an overzealous official, but these types of accusations maintained the kind of deference inherent in their genre.

Cases for tribute exemption often took the form of the petition to the Viceroy, who oversaw the Royal Accounts Tribunal of the Royal Treasury.[467] These initial documents would then be supplemented with additional evidence. Intendants and local magistrates testified in administrative matters pertaining to the collection and registration of families and individuals. Copies of these proceedings, which took place under a variety of circumstances, then went to the Royal Treasury in Mexico City. Accountants,

[466] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants*, 11.
[467] Jáuregui, *La Real Hacienda*, 95.

as well as the Tribute Administrator, made frequent appearances in these disputes on behalf of the General Accounts Department (*Contaduría General de Retasas*). Finally, the *fiscal* of the Royal Treasury was also consulted, as his recommendations were central to the functioning of the Royal Accounts Tribunal.[468]

Free-coloreds and their legal representatives constructed cases that often relied on the Habsburg tradition of preserving local legal privileges and customs (*costumbre*). Although the Bourbon rationalization of *costumbre* was well underway,[469] some free-colored petitioners did win exemptions in the late-eighteenth century on the basis of family history or geography. In spite of a shift away from privilege and toward obligation ("*obligaciones*") in legal culture, the rhetoric of conquistador privilege infiltrated group and individual petitions. Specifically, legal representatives often used phrases penned by the Augustinian Fray Juan Zapata y Sandoval, who argued in 1609 that privileges be dispensed to men of Spanish descent who supported colonial rule "at their own expense" and "with their strength and industry."[470] For viceregal bureaucrats, these claims were most convincing when they came from families or towns situated on frontiers.

Cases for exemption gathered together documents about an individual's life, usually a combination of marriage and baptismal records and previous tribute registers. The process of proving one's *calidad* in the context of tribute relied on written

---

[468] Jáuregui, *La Real Hacienda*, 95.
[469] Yanna Yannakakis, "Costumbre: a language of negotiation in eighteenth-century Oaxaca" in *Negotiation within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State*, ed. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 161.
[470] Juan Zapata y Sandoval, *Discertación sobre justicia distributiva y sobre la acepción de personas a ella opuesta*, ed. Arturo Ramírez Trejo and Paula López Cruz (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 109.

documentation of lineage as well as public reputation. In tribute cases, community opinion could be meted out through witness testimony, which yielded a tributary genealogy of an individual or family as perceived by others. Even a *calidad* established on witness testimony was inherently unstable, as it depended on the personal opinions and the *calidad* of the witness. Proofs of genealogy were not guaranteed over time, and labels of caste, *calidad*, *limpieza de sangre*, and tributary status were not always permanent.[471] During a case, some individuals or families were granted tribute relief until higher authorities had time to review the case thoroughly, "*con calidad de por ahora*."[472] The constant appearance of the word "*calidad*" underscores the inherent "quality" of the complaint and its position along a linear progression between tributary and non-tributary status. Tribute exemption could be temporary, and repeated legal proceedings were necessary to achieve the long-term desires of the petitioner.

Genealogies of Exemption and Avoiding Blackness

Tribute exemption cases, and other procedures that negotiated the construction of lineage, were complicated by their own temporality and ambiguity. Don Nicolás Gerardo Zedano and his wife Maria Josefa Ortiz of Cuernavaca brought a case in 1786 in which they asserted that they were "known and reputed" as Spanish in their community "without there ever having been anyone to doubt their *calidad*" or tributary status.[473] Though the phrase "without a doubt" resurfaced in the petition, the basis of the case was

[471] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 175.
[472] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 236.
[473] AGN, Tributos vol. 13, exp. 2, f. 6.

the doubt and confusion surrounding the tributary status of the couple, who had been registered as *mulato* tributaries in both 1785 and 1786. To clarify the situation, Don Nicolás presented a battery of witnesses, including numerous creoles from Cuernavaca, as well as the parish priest and the mayor, all of whom named him a Spaniard. Following this initial petition, the couple obtained a temporary exemption from the Royal Treasury, only to be registered again by a different official in 1789, an act which Don Nicolás floridly characterized as "diametrically opposed" to justice.[474] Only in 1792 did the Royal Treasury reaffirm Don Nicolás's exemption, demonstrating the uncertain situation in which even successful petitioners often found themselves and their families.

If tribute exemptions based on *calidad* were unstable, the procedures required to make such a claim became rather byzantine in the late-eighteenth-century. Vicente Pérez Abreu, a *vecino* of Coyoacán, discovered this when he brought his complaint in 1799 to address his registration, in spite of his parents being "free of any bad race" (*limpios de toda mala raza*). The complainant supposedly had "no idea" why the commissioner had registered him "among the tributaries, having no proof that I or my ancestors had been subject to the contribution…being of Spanish *calidad*."[475] Following what he believed to be correct procedure, Vicente returned to his town of origin, nearby Xochimilco, submitted ecclesiastical documents, and presented witness testimony on the part of Spaniards from the community in favor of his case. Unfortunately, the *fiscal* for the Royal Treasury believed the information did not "conform to the circumstances and necessary requirements," as it lacked, among various certifications, approval from an

[474] AGN, Tributos vol. 13, exp. 2, f 28.
[475] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 133, f. 182v.

attorney.[476] At this point, the burden fell on Vicente to resubmit his case with the proper corrections, a process which could prove costly and time-consuming. His case hung in the balance, his tributary genealogy in writing until it could be erased by orders from Mexico City.

Convincing tributary suits or petitions could construct multiple genealogies based on place as well as current *calidad*. A non-tributary genealogy could result from the combination of ancestral privileges and *calidad*. The concept of privilege based on a variety of "qualities" surfaced in tribute cases, as the multiple meanings and permutations of the word "*calidad*" allowed petitioners to use it rather generously. The most prominent examples of such arguments involved men and women claiming to be the descendants of conquistadors, who were not necessarily Spanish, nor were their descendants. In 1796, residents of San Agustín Metzquititlán offered proofs of an ancestor with a tribute exemption, citing how "our ancestors personally assisted in the conquest with their arms and horses," language placed the petitioners on the same footing as conquistadors and their descendants.[477] Thirty-seven cases, comprising more than ninety men, claimed an automatic exemption based on *calidad* and ancestral ties to the conquistadors of the Sierra Gorda and New Santander. Spaniards, *castizos*, and *mestizos*, these men sought a recognition of their genealogies of service and *calidad* which would lead to exemption. The result of these cases was an overhaul of the 1796 free-colored register, although only twenty-seven of the original petitioners were confirmed as exempt

[476] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 133, f. 182v.
[477] AGN, Tributos vol. 12, exp. 2, 263v.

and absent from the register.[478] While these arguments were not always persuasive to Bourbon courts, genealogies of exemption based on different interpretations of *calidad* continued to matter in community memory.

Not far away, a 1797 petition from Molango involving more than 280 people sought to stabilize their "privileged *calidad*" based on caste, service, and purity of blood. Residents deserving of "special merit" for having maintained control in the face of the "frontier with the Mecos" were confronted with yet another royal demand—tribute.[479] Attacks or threats by hostile Indians created a necessity of allegiance between subjects and government. The conferral of tributary privileges was one way to create such a reciprocal relationship, which people in Molango called upon at a time when uprisings were occurring in the Sierra Gorda region.[480] In another accusation of official abuse, petitioners described how the "malicious" commissioner targeted "all the families of the town of Molango, intending to obscure in the most ignominious way the origin and birthplace of the families that have given certified proofs of their purity of blood."[481] These proofs attempted to gain privileges due inhabitants "as children of Spanish men married to Spanish women, Indians, *mestizas*, or *castizas*."[482] A non-tributary *calidad* was the priority. It further behooved the colonial regime to retain loyal subjects in the Valley of Metztitlán, a fertile area which provided agricultural products for the mines at

[478] AGN, Tributos vol. 12, exp. 2, f. 329-329v.
[479] AGN General de Parte vol. 78, exp 14, f. 11v.
[480] Galaviz de Capdevielle, M E, "Descripción y pacificación de la Sierra Gorda" *Estudios de historia novohispana* , no. 4 (1971): 28-31.
[481] AGN General de Parte vol. 78, exp 14, f. 11v.
[482] AGN General de Parte vol. 78, exp 14, f. 13v.

Pachuca.[483] In 1801, the Viceroy resolved the case in favor of the town, but based on their location rather than their purity of blood.

No Shared Blood: Marriage and the Spread of Blackness

By the late-eighteenth century, Bourbon law-makers had explicitly limited the extent to which exogamous marriages could be beneficial for tribute. If either parent were a free-colored tributary, the status of the children would follow that lineage. As discussed in Chapter 3, Viceroy Revillagigedo's Ordinance dictated that *mulato* and Indian men pay half the rate of tribute if they married exempt women, but their children would still be listed on the register of tributaries. Such children retained their father's *calidad*, due to the presence of African blood in their lineage. The lack of preference for maternal or paternal bloodlines in determining tributary status points to the expansion of the tribute regime. The genealogical specificities of maternal versus paternal lineage would not undo the free-colored tributary category.

Attitudes about marriage and reproduction provided the foundations of Bourbon tribute policy. The Royal Pragmatic promulgated in New Spain in 1778 criticized "unequal" marriages between people of different *calidades*, with specific reference to free-coloreds.[484] Parents and guardians could petition the courts to declare a potential

[483] Wayne S. Osborn, "Indian land retention in Colonial Metztitlan," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (1973): 217-238.
[484] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 439.

marriage invalid due to concerns about differences in *calidad*.[485] Potential tributaries shared this concern with "inequality," though in tribute disputes the marriages in question had often already given rise to tributary offspring. Rather than contest the marriage itself as invalid on grounds of *calidad*, patriarchs separated themselves from individual marital choices that threatened familial reputation. In such petitions, male family members privileged their own position by acting as interpreters of the tribute system, while declaring the actions of younger female members unrepresentative of the family's *calidad*. This disapproval of marriage choices reflected a Bourbon criticism of freedom of choice in marriage, if such a marriage would unite people deemed "unequal" on the basis of their tributary status and *calidad*.

The consequences of lineage and marriage for tribute dominated a 1797 case presented by a man from Zacatlán de las Manzanas, a town in Puebla. When José Agustín González Múñiz saw his name among the *mulato* tributaries, he feared the "prejudice" that would affect his children and grandchildren, who still enjoyed the "good reputation, religious education, and good customs" of a Spanish family.[486] If assigned a free-colored *calidad* in the tribute regime, the family might no longer retain its strong associations with good behavior.[487]

---

[485] Patricia Seed observes that complaints based on "racial heritage" alone were in the minority. More petitioners interpreted the Pragmatic in terms of a wide range of disparities, including honor and economic status. See *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 207.
[486] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 1v.
[487] María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez, *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006) 233.

To make his case, González offered a description of his "*sanguinidad*,"[488] an unusual word evoking the importance of blood in the transference of tributary status. Though adopted by a *mulato* family, testimony eventually revealed the name and *calidad* of his biological father, a master gunsmith of Spanish lineage. When an orphan's parents were known to the community, the *calidad* of the child was no longer doubtful. Witnesses in the case repeatedly asserted that ancestry mattered in determining tributary status, suggesting that the caste of González's adoptive parents had little direct impact on his *calidad*. These witnesses did not doubt that the petitioner's *calidad* should be passed from his biological parents, rather than through the reputation of his adoptive family. In the context of these arguments, Spanish genealogy and *calidad* shared an immutable nature that even deep familial bonds with *mulatos* could not negate. Though this logic served González and the circumstances of his adoption, he used the same ideas about inherent qualities and blood lineage to construct the genealogies of his daughters, and not always to their advantage.

Tribute registers from previous years did not show Agustín González Múñiz or his wife as tributaries; yet, their daughters were registered as *mulatas*, creating ambiguities of color, reputation, and tributary status within the González family. The elder, Bernabela Antonia, had contracted a first marriage to a tributary Indian with whom she had four children. In the eyes of her father, this alliance lacked what one historian has called "strategic conjugality."[489] Later Bernabela remarried, choosing a *mestizo*, as did her younger sister María Josefa. The local Indian governor testified that he did not

[488] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, 3.
[489] Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 78.

understand why the two sisters had been registered, unless it was because of their father's adoptive upbringing in a *mulato* household.[490]

In January, 1799, the commissioner who created the contested register appeared in Mexico City to explain how he made his decisions regarding whom to record in Zacatlán. He claimed he never registered González, but he did register Bernabela Antonia as a *mulata*. Bernabela's past registration as a free-colored tributary signaled to the commissioner to place her name on the new register. Although Bernabela explained to him that "she was Spanish because her father was," the commissioner asked neighbors and local officials, but "could not determine the truth."[491] Only a few community members claimed to know her *calidad*. As for Bernabela's sister, the commissioner saw her as a tributary by virtue of being "sister of Bernabela by father and mother."[492] In the commissioner's mind, the uncertainties surrounding Bernabela's *calidad* automatically spread to her sister owing to their similar genealogies.

Some days after the tributary list was finished, González approached the commissioner asking that his family be erased "because his daughters and grandchildren were as Spanish as he and his ancestors."[493] When the commissioner informed him that the list could only be revised by the Royal Treasury, González changed tactics. Positioning himself as an authority on tribute within his proceedings, González declared that he would evaluate which of his grandchildren would inherit the familial tribute exemption. By González's genealogical calculations, María Josefa's children should not

[490] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 11.
[491] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 19.
[492] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 19v.
[493] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 20.

be registered because the combination of her *castiza* genealogy and her husband's *mestizo* genealogy gave the children enough Spanish blood to enjoy exemption. If both sisters were *castizas*, then Bernabela's children from her marriage to an Indian would become tributaries because they were not *mestizos* by technical definition. González's careful attention to the designations of blood within the tribute system underscored his understanding of the repercussions of Bernabela's choice of marriage partners. Her past reproductive choices resulted in the permanent obligation of her children to pay royal tribute. González saw that obligation as the consequence of his daughter's disadvantageous marriage to an Indian, a union which would mark an entire branch of the González family as tributaries.

Each member's *calidad* and marital choices had wider effects on the tributary status of the family. For Bernabela and María Josefa, their eligibility for exemption rested on the reputations of Agustin and their now deceased mother Francisca de la Cruz, daughter of a Spaniard and a *cacica*. Though her genealogy was known in the community, a new parish priest stated that upon his installment Francisca was already dead; therefore, he "did not see her aspect which she manifested related to her *calidad*."[494] This is the only explicit reference to phenotype in the case, and this interpretation of *calidad* did not come from the petitioner himself. The priest was willing to draw on well-established notions of physiognomy, which pre-dated *calidad*,[495] as well as genealogical characteristics. His interest in seeing in order to know reiterated the complex nature of *calidad*, a social marker dependent upon every day interpretations and

[494] BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43, f. 33v.
[495] Joanne Rappaport, "'Asi Lo Paresçe Por Su Aspeto,'" 612.

individual opinions. But the case, for the González family, could not hinge on Francisca alone. For they understood tributary status as a family concern, deeply rooted in genealogy, rather than a condition that could be isolated to one individual.

The risk of association with tributary status was a major motivation for anyone less than enthusiastic about exogamous marriages in the family. Once such a marriage took place, it could be nearly impossible for a family to set itself apart from the choices of a single member. The 1799 case of the Cristóbal Martinez and his family, from Tenango in Chalco, southeast of Mexico City, illuminated the effects of marriage on a non-tributary reputation. Warning the *oidores* in the capital that an overzealous magistrate was on the loose, Cristóbal complained that his family had been unfairly targeted in the tribute commissioner's attempt to expand the local free-colored register. The petition portrayed the temporary legal connection of marriage quite differently from the deeper bonds of blood between parent and progeny. Cristóbal stressed that he and his brother were of Spanish descent, and that his brother had married his wife's whole sister, also reputed to be Spanish. The dual familial and marital connections between wives and husbands ensured that, as Cristóbal stated, "all the children that he and I procreated are legitimate Spaniards."[496] Because his niece Mónica had married a *lobo* (a person of mixed Indian and African ancestry), the commissioner wanted to register the entire family as *mulatos*. Cristóbal argued that Mónica's husband, whatever caste he may have possessed before he died, did not "share at all in our blood."[497] Mónica did not "have any

[496] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 130, f. 181v.
[497] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 130, f. 181v -182.

succession (*sucesión*)"[498] of children who would now be part of the family, effectively truncating this line of descent. By this logic, this free-colored association was purely legal and had no impact on non-tributary genealogy, especially in light of the fact that no children had resulted from the marriage. In spite of Cristóbal's assertion that he did not have the money to solicit the necessary ecclesiastical documentation to prove his *calidad*, the case was referred to the subdelegate for further review pending receipt of more documentary proofs.

In the Martínez case, the publicly perceived association with a tributary *calidad* jeopardized the status of the entire family. Monica's marriage to a man of questionable tributary status and free-colored *calidad* diminished her standing in the eyes of tribute officials. If children had resulted from the union, the addition of free-colored ancestors to the Martínez family would have fundamentally changed its "blood." Uniting this case and that of the González Múñiz family was a lack of attention to physical traits and their tributary meaning. Marriage and reproduction, and the genealogical and legal ties they created, far outweighed physiognomic interpretations of tributary status among free-colored tributaries themselves.

Physiognomy and Genealogy

Many bureaucrats believed visible characteristics were inextricably linked to tributary status, though this viewpoint mixed and matched ideas based on heredity, physiognomy, and genealogy. Because of the inherent subjectivity of seeing, *calidad*

[498] AGN, General de Parte vol. 77, exp. 130, f. 181v.

was somewhat fluid, though, as one historian has recently put it, "a person could not simply perform a category that was radically inconsistent with his or her location within colonialism and slavery."[499] The tradition of judging the caste or noble lineage of an individual by sight was not new and often depended on dress, material possessions, and behavior.[500] When lineage was unknown or unclear, these behavioral and visible factors were especially important for determining classifications at the end of the century, often resulting in particular confusion regarding the distinctions between *mulatos* and Indians by sight.[501] Coinciding with a growing consensus in European scientific and medical communities that human biological heredity could be used as a "causal, explanatory notion,"[502] certain officials in Mexico City began to apply concepts of heredity to the transmission of tributary markers, such as dark skin. Even as early racial thinking permeated the tribute system, tributaries and courts continued to rely heavily on genealogy as the most effective way to determine tributary status.

Differences of opinion within the Royal Treasury continued to be possible because ordinances did not specify exactly what constituted the *calidad* de tributario, even in the early nineteenth century. Debates about the tributary status of foundlings, called *expósitos*, showed the intrinsic connections between tribute and caste, *calidad*, class, and color. In 1799, the commissioner who would create the new register for San Juan Tenochtitlán had raised the issue of certain tributaries who claimed they were

---

[499] O'Toole, *Bound Lives*, 165.
[500] Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 121-155.
[501] Norma Angélica Castillo, "La pérdida de la población de origen africano en la región de Puebla," in *Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México*, ed. María Elisa Velázquez and Ethel Correa (México, D.F.: Instituto de Antropología e Historia, 2005), 315-316
[502] Carlos López-Beltrán, "The Medical Origins of Heredity," in *Heredity Produced: At the Crossroads of Biology, Politics, and Culture, 1500-1870*, ed. Staffan Müller-Wille and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), 106.

foundlings and, therefore, not *mulatos* in spite of their, according to the commissioner, "unequivocal signs" to the contrary.[503] In the debates that followed within the Royal Court of Accounts (*Real Tribunal de Cuentas*), accountant Juan Ordóñez argued that free-coloreds paid tribute "because they are plebeians"[504] with certain obligations to the Crown. In an earlier draft of his brief, he wrote that free blacks and *mulatos* "are considered of the *ínfima plebe* without distinction," which he would amend to a less derogatory remark.[505] He believed class to be the overriding factor in determining tributary status, and free-coloreds with the lowest of all. Simply because someone had no genealogy did not mean that he or she should avoid the obligations associated with being a vassal.

Within the rubric of class, Ordóñez observed that "to know [the *calidad*] of all the foundlings in which there is a frequent mixture of Spaniards, Indians, and *mulatos*, seems impossible."[506] This sentiment was evident within the Royal Treasury, as well as in other spaces that portrayed the caste system.[507] Ordóñez favored a strategy that privileged color and class in the absence of genealogical proofs. He recommended that the Crown not grant exemptions to "*expósitos* who are black in color, who do not leave any doubt about their *calidad*…and those who in their color, hair, and features are known as *mulatos* or another of the castes that result from a mixture of blacks."[508] This language of

[503] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 337.
[504] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f 341.
[505] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal caja 1942, exp. 18, f. 3v.
[506] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 340v.
[507] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 135.
[508] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 340v.

physiognomy appeared in Spanish America long before the caste system, and its popularity within the tribute regime spanned more than two centuries.

Not all viceregal bureaucrats approved of this method of categorization, however, and there were those who opposed what they saw as outdated thinking. Another official named Joseph María Beltrán issued an equally strong opinion accusing Ordóñez of advocating a system of tributary identification based on a backward school of thought in which "the extrinsic features (*señales extrínsecos*) of the body do not coincide with the qualities (*qualidades*) of the soul."[509] Beltrán was outraged at the idea that "the color of the face, the lack of a beard, the toughness, straightness, or curliness of the hair demonstrate that the *expósito* is a child of Indians or blacks or *mulatos* or comes from other castes."[510] The competing views of officials at viceregal and local levels about the meanings of color, physical features, and lineage for tributary status demonstrated the ways in which a system intended to split the society along clear-cut lines had given way to another tangled matter of identifying who was who in the caste system.

Embedded within the discussion was a case that contested the tributary status of a free-colored *expósito* in Mexico City. The case was a hodgepodge of appeals to honor, service, and class, interwoven with recent debates surrounding expósito status. Don José Francisco Prieto, a literate master blacksmith, requested an exemption as a subject "numbered in the class of good men."[511] The reference to *clase* was usually unattractive to those families seeking tributary exemption, but Don José, for a variety of reasons, had to improvise. His opening petition did not confirm or deny allegations that he was free-

[509] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 344v.
[510] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 344v.
[511] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 11, f. 300v.

colored. In fact, he admitted that it was "impossible to prove [his] *calidad*"[512] because he was adopted. He based his argument on the notion of a tributary class, which the petitioner associated with the "inferior rank of plebeians."[513] Such people lacked the skill he exercised as a master in his trade, an economic position which distanced him from the working poor. He bolstered these arguments in favor of his honor by claiming the status of an *expósito* raised by a free-colored militiaman, himself exempted from tribute. Since Don José could not formulate any blood lineage, he constructed a parental connection to an exempt free-colored man. Downplaying blood and focusing on adoptive non-tributary parentage, the petitioner and his representatives hoped that blood lineage would be rendered irrelevant.

Those opposed to the exemption were unmoved by Don José's appeal to honor and upbringing and instead focused on his lineage. The case found its way to the desk of a particularly sarcastic tribute administrator, Juan Domingo Lombardini, who was nearly always unsympathetic to exemption claims. Even if Don José did not know his biological parents, Lombardini asserted that "in spite of being a foundling it is undeniably clear from his presentation, color, and exterior characteristics that [his parents] are *pardos* or other *castas*."[514] Lombardini was convinced that exterior characteristics were clear makers of tributary status, an inherited condition which could be tracked through its physical manifestations. The petitioner's physical presentation belied his blood lineage, overriding any of the privileges supposedly accorded to *expósitos* based on the mystery of their *calidad*.

[512] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 11, f. 300v.
[513] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 11, f. 300v.
[514] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 11, f. 302v.

Fortunately for Don José, the High Court of the Royal Treasury ruled in 1801 that all *expósitos* be exempt from tributary responsibilities. The resolution rested on the idea that "the basis of color is very fallible for determining the castes of *expósitos*."[515] However, the fact that *expósitos* could be "decent plebeians" ("*del estado llano general*") did not disrupt the overall tributary structure. These individuals were not without caste; they were simply of a caste indeterminable under the law. The resolution reaffirmed the extent to which potentially free-colored and Indian subjects could improve their social status without altering the tributary category.[516] The fractured opinions of the bureaucracy showed the coexistence of multiple theories of *calidad* based on blood or sight or both. Free-coloreds, on the other hand, constructed genealogies and associations to distance themselves from tributary status without referencing physical characteristics.

The master blacksmith Don José Francisco Prieto was defined more by his color than his prestige. Although he presented himself using class and *calidad*, he initially encountered a judicial audience more interested in his appearance than his reputation. Certain tribute officials were willing to allow physical characteristics to take priority over an individual's local reputation and community understandings of lineage and *calidad*. But at the highest levels of government, color and appearance did not satisfy bureaucrats searching for a fixed, rational method of identifying tributaries. Seeking to close the loop holes free-coloreds exploited in the tribute system, Bourbon high courts refused to acknowledge color, a characteristic with the potential to become as subjective as caste itself, as the basic tributary marker.

---

[515] AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f. 357v.
[516] Cobá Noh, *El "indio ciudadano"*, 78.

Accountants and viceregal bureaucrats had investigated the nature of the 1794 royal decree granting privileges to the *expósitos* by mixing new ideas about heredity with entrenched frameworks of genealogy. The question eventually reached the Council of the Indies, which approved the resolution in 1802 with the caveat that it "not circulate in the Indies as a general ruling."[517] The Council upheld the "diverse practices which there are in different Kingdoms and Provinces…with regard to the counting of tributaries and castes which should be included in the registers."[518] In New Spain, most authorities favored genealogical proofs, already prevalent in tribute and other institutions, as the preferred method of identifying tributaries.

Conclusions

The power of genealogy was clear to ordinary people who engaged in tribute disputes from the 1780s to the 1800s. The opening case of Almoloya shows the prominent place genealogy took in addressing local privileges, rivalries, and migration. In Almoloya's surrounding jurisdiction, between 1781 and 1788 the number of *mulato* tributaries nearly doubled, while Indian tributaries dropped by ten percent.[519] The *caciques* failed to prove their genealogy and thus became (or had always been, in the eyes of their accusers) *lobos*, *mulatos*, and *negros*, reputations which were only confirmed by

[517] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 3 pt. 2, 791.
[518] Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 3 pt. 2, 791.
[519] Summaries destined for Spain recorded 942.5 Indian tributaries and 62.5 negro and *mulato* tributaries in 1781, though by 1788 there were 849.5 Indian tributaries and 123 free-colored tributaries. See AGI, Mexico legs. 2104 and 2105.

the immigrant status of some families.[520] These were not the only free-coloreds to exercise Tlaxcalan-like privileges,[521] yet the Almoloya families' reliance upon a Tlaxcalan genealogy was untenable. With the full support of Viceroy Maldonado, the disgruntled Indians of Almoloya succeeded in ousting the immigrant, *mulato caciques* from their positions as landowners and local governors. The targeted families did not take the imposition of tribute lightly. One of a new string of accusations levied against Juan José Espinoza and his family was an attempt to stone the tribute collector.[522] Tribute affected the reputations and economic lives of entire families, and this profound change from privileged Indian noble to tributary free-colored met with violent resistance. These families had joined the tributary class, one which united a variety of castes and qualities under the shared and shameful burden of tribute.

The tributary caste (*casta tributaria*), tributary class (*clase tributaria*), and tributary quality (*calidad de tributario*) persisted in concert, arguably with little consensus as to their precise meanings. Their shared significance and intelligibility derived from genealogical underpinnings, which created a self-sustaining method for drawing families into the tributary category. All three markers could be manipulated to achieve genealogical goals, whether in the words of a determined petitioner or a scrutinizing official. For bureaucrats, identifying tributaries using genealogy appeared less subjective, and remained a well-established method of tracing ancestry and privilege. At this most basic level, both petitioners and judges agreed that genealogy was the cornerstone of tributary status. Being part of the class of tributaries or non-tributaries

[520] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 226, f. 105.
[521] McEnroe, *From Colony to Nationhood*, 210.
[522] AGN, Indios vol. 69, exp. 226, f. 105.

depended largely on the status of one's ancestors. Yet, whether this genealogical method could be supplemented with interpretations of color and certain physical features remained a point of contention. For centuries, genealogy had retained its position as an indispensable personal and legal marker in New Spain, and deep-seated genealogical thinking did not disappear as newer, racial ideas emerged.

The late eighteenth century was a time of changing attitudes and rhetoric about the place of genealogy and color in social hierarchies. Petitions for *gracias al sacar* across the Spanish empire provide a useful comparison to tribute exemptions. When requesting a change to their caste through a *gracias al sacar* petition, some *pardos* began to use vocabularies of color to describe themselves as more deserving of the reputation of Spaniard than were other free-coloreds in their communities.[523] Free-coloreds, rather than bureaucrats, promoted the use of color in these petitions to advance their own agendas.[524] In the Caribbean context, the sale of whiteness had political undertones that seemed especially dangerous in the early-nineteenth century.[525] Unlike a tribute exemption, which recognized the legitimacy of Spanish rule through its engagement with discourses of vassalage and obligation, a *gracias al sacar* petition could challenge the social order in overt ways. Those who avoided payment did so using the same vocabulary of genealogy and privilege that subjected others to tribute.

Families and individuals in New Spain did not use color as a strategy to gain tribute exemption. Tribute petitioners viewed blackness as a genealogical, rather than a

---

[523] Twinam, "Purchasing Whiteness," 160.
[524] Twinam, "Purchasing Whiteness," 155.
[525] Aline Helg, *Liberty & Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 92-93.

physical, characteristic. Of the hundreds of individuals involved in more than ninety tribute cases examined here, no free-coloreds specifically described color as the central characteristic required to identify an exempt caste or prove a specific lineage. While there is a possibility of the existence of records of individual statements manipulating color as a defense against incorporation into the tribute system, this investigation has found no such trend among cases that reached the higher levels of bureaucracy in the capital. The resistance to these phenotypic vocabularies, which were emerging or already entrenched across other institutions and geography, characterized tribute as a constant in a time of political change.

Genealogy prevailed within free-colored royal tribute because it satisfied Bourbon lawmakers and provided a vocabulary of difference familiar to ordinary people. Genealogical thinking permeated many of the cultures of New Spain, and subjects accepted this method as a way of distinguishing between tributary and non-tributary groups. Tribute complaints reveal deeply ingrained popular ideas about the relationships between marriage and family, reproduction and gender, and *calidad* and lineage. To contest their tributary status, families relied on genealogy as the basis of their claims and constructed marital and reproductive relationships which would reflect favorably on the family's tributary lineage. Legal representatives influenced the ways in which people were able to express themselves before the courts, but individuals provided information they felt was important to make their case. Petitioners indicated their personal attachment to genealogy as a method of distinguishing tributaries from non-tributaries.

In the context of tribute, people presented themselves as products of genealogies, which seemed, to them, more relevant than an assortment of physical characteristics.

Conclusion

In the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the proliferation of summaries and printed instruments that represented free-colored tributaries resulted from an emphasis on accuracy, numeracy, and order. This administrative effort required the participation of royal officials, local elites, clergy, and ordinary people in order to extract information. The tribute register was, by this time, supported by ecclesiastical documents, previous registers, and the careful oversight of commissioners and accountants. This process involved calculations and *cotejo*, checking documents against one another to ensure accuracy. Only with complete accuracy would commissioners save the Royal Treasury the time and expense of hearing and evaluating exemption cases on behalf of free-colored subjects.

The tribute ordinance Viceroy Revillagigedo dispatched in 1793 depicted a studious and dedicated commissioner as he prepared his "detailed and timely comparison" of ecclesiastical documents with the current *padrón* of the jurisdiction to which he was assigned. The ordinance described how the commissioner would "note the differences he may find" and "form a calculation" using certificates of death, marriage, and baptism. Next, the commissioner was to make a new *estado* of all related properties and towns as well. This was to be a "most perfect and comprehensive" endeavor that would avoid duplications and "all fraud and concealment of tributaries."[526] Evidence from tributary

[526] AGN, Tributos vol. 60, exp. 9, f. 232v.

summaries and local *padrones* demonstrates both the change brought about under Bourbon projects and their limits.

This dissertation has argued that the tribute regime brought free-coloreds into periodic contact with representatives of the colonial regime, sharing vocabularies of privilege, obligation, and difference in the process. Though it brought little financial gain to the crown, levying tribute maintained the distinctions between growing populations of free-coloreds and Indians, distinguishing them from people of Spanish descent and tribute-exempt *mestizos*. Bureaucrats and rulers envisioned a free-colored tribute regime that would maintain categories of genealogy and *calidad* while yielding monetary profits and massive amounts of demographic information. Reforms increased the numbers of tributary subjects and the amounts they paid; free-colored tributaries more than doubled between 1794 and 1805 (see Table 26).

These data about tributary subjects arose from a patriarchal view of economically productive family, and the characteristics of certain free-colored communities. Using the information gathered in the last decades of colonialism in what would become Mexico, this dissertation has shown that free-colored families who paid tribute did not conform to contemporary stereotypes about their mobility. Many people lived in communities in which they had genealogical ties to other residents, suggesting that people chose to remain with their families. Tribute officials took pains to record information pertaining to family as an organizing principle on the register. They created or observed free-colored families as units of employed fathers; mothers who labored and raised children; adult boarders, children, or siblings; and adolescents, children, and even infants. The

information the tribute regime amassed in Mexico City and, after 1785, the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, represents a kind of snapshot of free-colored family and community through the lens of a patriarchal ideal.

This dissertation adds tributary status to the list of characteristics that historians believe defined *calidad* and shows that Bourbon reformers promoted tributary status as a marker of social organization among free-coloreds. "Caste" rather than "*calidad*" has been the term of choice in much of the secondary literature on free-coloreds in New Spain; however, the term *calidad* was already ubiquitous in tribute documents by the mid-eighteenth century. By addressing *calidad* and its connections to tribute, this project situates free-coloreds on multiple colonial gradients of color, wealth, gender, caste, and legal status. Rather than a single colonial "pyramid" of authority and power based on caste,[527] what emerges is a landscape of economic obligations and social privileges that were linked to *calidad* and tributary status. Engaging questions of self-presentation and identification, this institutional history examines the importance of free-colored resistance to and participation in a tax regime dependent upon a genealogical logic. The dissertation argues that free-coloreds had certain privileges and obligations within the tribute regime, some of which were independent of caste. These vocabularies then allowed free-coloreds to contest tax status in court.

Drawing on documents located in Seville, Mexico City, and Mexican state archives, this dissertation has described the interrelated processes of extracting wealth and generating and presenting information. The evidentiary base incorporates tribute registers from local jurisdictions as well as documents compiling these data for export to

[527] Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors,* 33.

Spain. Discussing these two kinds of tributary surveys—one at the level of the jurisdiction, the other at the level of the Kingdom of New Spain—places new emphasis on the meanings of the presentation of the data, as well as their creation and purpose. These were not simply representations of demographic and economic patterns; commissioners collected and displayed these data to illustrate free-colored community for imperial and viceregal administrators. Therefore, tribute records were constructions of community that reflected demographic patterns through a lens of bureaucratic selection. As a result, certain family types—namely, the nuclear unit headed by a man—predominated. Such families were more likely to provide taxable subjects and conformed to accepted norms of family and patriarchy.[528] Through these documents, imperial and viceregal bureaucrats would have been assured that lucrative, stable, and well-ordered free-colored populations existed and were ready to be taxed.

For free-coloreds, being a respected and settled member of a community was complicated by the simultaneous requirement of paying tribute and its social stigma. The socially shameful aspects of tributary status were tightly bound to ideas about impurity and blackness. Many families who rejected tributary status did so by denying African ancestry. The pervasive nature of genealogy as a form of identification for individuals and families goes beyond the communities to which it was been ascribed in the historiography of colonial Mexico: native elites and Spaniards.[529] But the use of genealogical proofs toward specific ends was also a strategy for families who wished to

[528] Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 65.
[529] Martínez pays little attention to the diverse meanings of free-colored genealogies, instead focusing on creole and native conceptions of lineage. She claims that the idea of lineage was inextricable from creoles' conceptions of their elite colonial status. See Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 199.

solidify their tax privileges or social standing as non-tributaries. In certain cases discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, these privileges were not, for petitioners, in conflict with identifications with blackness.

Tribute and Genealogy

Tribute was inseparable from genealogy from its inception, when noble lineage was a hallmark of social organization for Indians under Spanish rule. By the eighteenth century, widespread ideas about blood and lineage held that public reputation was fundamental to a person's identity and that of his or her family. More established free-colored artisans as well as illiterate plebeians used family history, written proofs, and popular opinion to construct genealogies. Contrary to what some scholars have asserted,[530] ordinary people, local officials, and Bourbon bureaucrats all agreed that genealogy was the basis of tributary status, a condition which would be created or broken through bonds of marriage and reproduction. Marriages that crossed boundaries of caste and *calidad* were especially troubling when they Spanish women with free-colored or Indian men,[531] a pattern that also emerges from complaints of patriarchs opposed to the decisions of young, nontributary women who chose tributary husbands. These marital and, eventually, reproductive connections were the basis of tributary status and transferred it to other members of the family. Cases examined in this dissertation show

[530] Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 58.
[531] Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey*, 148.

that other social connections, such as adoption or cohabitation, were less meaningful in the determination of tributary status.

Tribute and *calidad* were mutually influential; both were tied to lineage and, therefore, to gender and reproduction. As shown in the case of San Luis Potosí in the early-Bourbon period, neither tribute nor *calidad* were imposed unchecked from Mexico City. Far from the capital, magistrates in San Luis Potosí cited special difficulty in determining the tributary status of women, even when they were the wives of free-coloreds.[532] Over the course of the century, the specific issue of gender was never resolved within the tribute regime. This did not mean that the discussion remained stagnant; rather, the importance of customary law prevented a single gendered interpretation of tribute from taking hold across New Spain. A shift toward a male-gendered tributary subject occurred in coastal areas where free-colored militia presence influenced tribute registration.[533] In other cases, young *mulatas* like sisters Sebastiana and Juana de la Encarnación of Tenango del Valle, discussed in Chapter 2, were classified as tributary subjects because of their *calidad*.

The tribute regime strengthened colonial hierarchies and separated Spaniards and *mestizos* from other members of society. The definition of tributary status defined blackness as particularly damaging to reputation and social standing, placing *mestizos* in a distinct categories from *mulatos* who had the same amounts of Spanish ancestry. This followed a trend in Spanish thought that conceived of black ancestry as impossible to

[532] AGI Mexico 1043, cuaderno 1, f. 261v.
[533] See Chapter 4.

change, which was not the case for Indian ancestry.[534] Blackness was a feature that defined other aspects of genealogy, changing an entire lineage which was subsequently irreversible under the *sistema de castas*. Elite Spaniards believed that African blood had permanent characteristics that overrode others,[535] a pattern reflected in the practice of using maternal and paternal lineages of blackness to determine tributary status.

By the late eighteenth century, the imposition of tributary status had begun to stabilize the meanings of being free-colored for the purposes of Bourbon observation. The lens of tribute was one that distilled other categories into a single recognizable category. *Color*, *casta*, and *calidad* were entangled to such an extent as to have become unattractive to lawmakers searching for a term with limited, quantifiable meaning. One of the underlying problems was the inability of bureaucrats to decipher tributary status to each other's satisfaction: some believed tributary status could be determined by color, while others favored a genealogical approach. Classic works on the caste system have observed the importance of color as "the major criterion of socioracial status,"[536] but the administrators in the tribute regime did not all believe this to be the case. As shown in the previous chapter, the highest court in New Spain would eventually find color and physical appearance insufficient for determining tributary status.

Tributary status was also a marker of honor for those who prized genealogical purity and disdained the lower classes of colonial society. Honor was "a public phenomenon and constantly subject to challenge, for it could be threatened, lost, gained,

[534] Martínez, "The Language of Genealogy," 41.
[535] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 13.
[536] Chance, *Race and Class*, 181.

and regained,"[537] not unlike tributary status. As cases in Chapter 5 have shown, an exemption from tribute was never completely secure as long as a commissioner or community members believed the individual to be tributary. Proofs of genealogy could confirm tributary status, but the doubts and suspicions of neighbors, clergy, local officials, and family members could dislodge a precarious tributary exemption.

Tribute and the Colonial Regime

The tribute regime was deeply invested in questions of law and colonial administration, making documents related to tribute fruitful for the study of free-coloreds' relationships to a colonial state. Free-colored tribute was part of a vast bureaucratic machine that grew to remarkable complexity in the eighteenth century. After 1750, a new cadre of royal officials bent on the expansion of mining, excise, and personal taxes brought the Royal Treasury increased revenue.[538] Though not very lucrative itself, free-colored tribute was an administrative quandary that brought to the fore problems of geographical diversity. At the same time, questions of legal status for free-colored families formulated arguments dependent on local administration and customary law.

Tributary status was a legal category, dependent on reputation and genealogy, which developed connections to ideas about colonial "classes." Drawing on Iberian precedents, administrators conceived of the tributary class as one of *pecheros* who were

[537] Twinam, *Public Lives*, 338.
[538] Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 51-52.

defined by their lineage, removing all Spaniards and their descendants form this category in the Americas. By *real cédula* in 1803, *expósitos* had been removed from the tributary group and placed in the "class of good men" with "other honorable vassals" who were not blacks, Indians or mulatos.[539] Tributaries of multiple castes were often funneled into a similar tributary status, because commissioners and bureaucrats saw free-colored workers and *indios laboríos* as a kind of "floating population."[540] That tributary status was a legal one, and not only a stand-in for caste, supports what some historians have criticized as a totalizing view of late-colonial society on the basis of caste hierarchies. Free-coloreds experienced their tributary status as a social marker that encompassed many forms of distinction, fusing them together into a single category.

The importance of geography for administration has long been apparent in Latin American history, and tribute was subject to the local circumstances and resources that commissioners and local officials encountered. The tribute regime faced obstacles both in the Valley of Mexico and on frontiers. Overlapping jurisdictions, muddled local customs, and disease crippled the tribute administration of Mexico City until the end of the century.[541] Far from the capital in the mining centers of the near North, officials were unable or unwilling to enforce standards either inapplicable to local realities or impossible to enforce.[542] Following the formula "I obey but do not execute" ("*obedezco*

[539] AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, c. 6316, exp. 13, f. 5.
[540] Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 138.
[541] In 1765 and 1766, accountants claimed that no tribute had been charged in the *parcialidad* of San Juan Tenochtitlán owing to disease. Subsequently, officials had difficulty finding a qualified administrator willing to oversee collection efforts. See AGI Mexico, leg. 2104, *plano* for 1769.
[542] In 1773, the *alcalde mayor* of San Miguel El Grande claimed that it was "impossible to collect" tribute in full, which would have totaled 13,445 *pesos* and 6 *tomines* from Indians in towns along with 5,650 *pesos* from *mulatos.* See AGI, Mexico leg. 2104, "*Relaciones juradas*" included with the *plano* of 1773.

pero no cumplo"), local officials rejected or postponed the implementation of disruptive or inconvenient decrees from centers of imperial power.[543]

Documents related to the tribute regime confirm Bourbon interest in the rural and provincial side of free-colored life. Free-coloreds lived and worked on large estates and built strong ties to *haciendas* and ranches. In addition, as this dissertation and other scholars have shown, free-colored tributaries lived in the hinterlands of New Spain.[544] Towns that faced incursions from hostile Indian groups claimed group exemptions based on service, just as entire coastal communities claimed militia privileges.[545] Service could become part of a genealogy in the case of towns that had once been part of a frontier zone but, thanks to the loyal service of the town's past residents, now was home to the descendants of *pobladores*.

Free-coloreds found distinct opportunities for negotiating tributary status based on geographic variations. In interior regions close to the capital, associations with a tribute register, and therefore with blackness, offered few benefits vis-à-vis state structures. Coastal regions and frontier zones, on the other hand, provided an association with free-colored privileges embodied in militia units or a history of military service. When free-coloreds protested tributary status, they could reference their historic and present defense of Spanish territories and to the connections between blackness and militia service. Families who lacked such a connection, however, were more likely to deny a free-colored genealogy.

---

[543] John Leddy Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1960): 59.
[544] Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 117.
[545] Vinson, *Bearing Arms*, 151.

The Tribute Regime as a Source of Revenue and Knowledge

Collecting tribute from and registering tributaries among free-coloreds provided the Spanish Crown with scant revenue vis-à-vis other sources, but it provided a wealth of information about a specific cross-section of colonial subjects. Between 1768 and 1805, free-coloreds were never more than twelve percent of the total tributary population.[546] Though a minority, the free-colored tributary population expanded—by a large margin in certain jurisdictions—between 1768 and 1788. Yet, the general rule for the roughly 150 jurisdictions that made up New Spain in this twenty-year period was a free-colored population that accounted for less than ten percent of the total tributaries. As a small part of a larger tributary group, free-coloreds never paid more than eight percent of the total estimated collection between 1768 and 1777 (see Table 22).

Though royal tribute from Indian families was a significant source of revenue in the early colonial period, by the late-eighteenth century it had been eclipsed as a percentage of the many royal taxes collected in New Spain. In areas with large Indian populations, personal tributes and *encomienda* remained critical sources of wealth.[547] However, these regional economies were insignificant for the Spanish Crown when compared with the wealth of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, or San Luis Potosí. Mining taxes would contribute three times more revenue to royal treasuries than did tribute payments

[546] Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History*, vol. 1, 340-341.
[547] In Yucatán, *encomienda* and other Indian tributes were vital to sustaining Spanish interests even in the second half of the eighteenth century. See Robert Patch, *Maya Revolt and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 7.

annually during the final decade of the eighteenth century.[548] Although the tribute regime was pervasive, it was by no means the most important of New Spain's many tax sources.

In spite of its fiscal insignificance, accountants and bureaucrats in Mexico City insisted that tribute registration and collection could (and should) be more expansive and effective. Not only did tribute provide a small, steady stream of revenue, its imposition symbolized the relationships of obligation between vassal and monarch. According to some officials, these symbols of loyalty and obedience solidified class categories,[549] which would have seemed especially important in the stratified urban setting that viceregal bureaucrats experienced daily. Furthermore, officials continued to see tribute as an organizing principle, manifested in the reorganization of Mexico City's tributary structure in 1792.[550] The regime of tribute had a long history of rooting subjects to particular places, from the earliest foundations of the *pueblos de indios*. Areas where tribute could not be collected were understood as barbarous, and exemptions of tribute were granted to certain influential communities that defended the borders of Spanish control.[551] People who supposedly did not have fixed residences could not serve these place-specific purposes, and were deemed untrustworthy and detrimental to colonial

[548] Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire*, 61.
[549] See the class-based arguments of accountant Juan Ordóñez in AGN, Tributos vol. 55, exp. 12, f 341. A further discussion is found in Granados, "Cosmopolitan Indians," 144.
[550] Granados, "Cosmopolitan Indians," 128.
[551] The most studied case is that of the Tlaxcalan colonizers of Chichimec lands, who were granted special status in return for their services. The tribute privileges Tlaxcalans received were fundamental to their differentiation form other communities and their agitation for further rights before the Spanish colonial courts. Sean F. McEnroe claims that "no indigenous group so thoroughly shaped the practices of colonization as the Tlaxcalans," in *From Colony to Nationhood in Mexico*, 22.

society.[552] In fact, tribute was important because it counteracted such stereotypes and quantified a stable population of free-colored taxpayers whose political loyalties were expressed through a willingness to pay tribute.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Bourbon bureaucrats demonstrated the efficacy of their improved registration and counting methods. By 1805, free-colored tributaries represented more than eleven percent of the total tributaries throughout the provinces Veracruz, Arispe, Puebla, Oaxaca, Merida, Guanajuato, Mexico, Valladolid, Potosi, Zacatecas, and Guadalajara.[553] In certain regions, tributary numbers had supposedly undergone a dramatic transformation. A summary from that year claimed that more than half of all the tributaries in Zacatecas were free-coloreds, an assertion that has not been borne out in the literature or in this dissertation.[554] The steadily rising tributary population from 1768 to 1805 points to the sustained interest of viceregal bureaucrats and Bourbon monarchs in continuing to extract taxes from free-coloreds. The revenue gained was comparatively small, but the wealth of information gathered as a result of tributary registration provided support to proponents of tribute who believed the tribute regime could be expanded even further. These data-gathering and knowledge-making processes occurred because bureaucrats advocated for increasing tribute by counting more individuals as free-colored taxpayers.

In order to identify and categorize free-colored people, local and viceregal authorities used tribute registers that related tributaries by blood, marriage, and shared

[552] Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors*, 78-79.
[553] AGN, Tributos vol. 43, exp. 9.
[554] Free-colored tribute registers for this intendancy have not been found in the Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas or in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.

residences. These methods of counting and tracking taxable subjects during the late-eighteenth century became increasingly standardized and reliant on printed instruments that placed members of families into distinct columns. As repositories of local information about tributary families, *padrones* functioned as maps of free-colored tributary social and genealogical relationships. Colonial officials used tribute registers as tracking devices for free-colored communities, a space in which blackness had specific meanings. The register was also a space in which relationships with free people of color determined social and genealogical webs for Indian, Spanish, and *mestizo* men and women. Connections with free-coloreds could mark individuals of any *calidad* as a potential source of revenue for the Crown. Caste terminologies became less important than social and genealogical connections, as entire families took on tributary and free-colored reputations through their presence in these documents.

Appendix 1: *Properties and Owners in San Luis Potosí, 1712-1716*

Year	Property	Owner	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
1712	Rancho de Diego Ruiz	Diego Ruiz	4	6	1		4		9		24
1716	Paraje de Diego Ruiz	Diego Ruiz	4		1						5
1712	Rancho Sn Cristóbal del Palmar	Esteban Uribe and Cristóbal de Reyna	8	2	1	1	9		12		33
1715	Rancho Sn Cristóbal del Palmar	Esteban Uribe	4	2					5		11
1712	Estancia Tepetate	Francisco Guerrero	12	10	5				23	6	56
1715	Hacienda Tepetate	Francisco Guerrero	16	14	5	2			25		62
1712	Hacienda Sn Miguel	Lázaro de Yrriegas	6	52	2	3	1	1	38	3	106
1715	Hacienda Sn Miguel	Lázaro de Yrriegas	2	42		2			31	3	80
1715	Hacienda Sn Miguel (*arrimados*)	Lázaro de Yrriegas	6	10		4		10			30
1712	Hacienda La Ciénaga	Pedro Altamirano	12	12	3						27
1712	Hacienda La Ciénaga (cañada)	Pedro Altamirano	2								2
1712	Hacienda Sn Diego	Pedro Altamirano	10	2	1						13
1712	Hacienda El Potrero (*vaqueros y labradores*)	Pedro Altamirano	8	12							20
1712	Haciendas of Pedro Altamirano (*guarda del ganado*)	Pedro Altamirano	12	26	2	3					43
1716	Haciendas La Ciénaga, Sn Diego, Nra Sra de Guadalupe	Pedro Altamirano	22	22	1	1			15		61
1712	Puesto Las Tortugas	Pedro Altamirano	6				2		6		14
1716	Puesto Las Tortugas	Pedro Altamirano	2	8		1					11

Key: I Free-colored *Casados* II Other *Casados*
III Unmarried Mulatos IV Other Unmarried People
V *Mulato* Children VI *Lobo* Children
VII All Children VIII *Reservados*

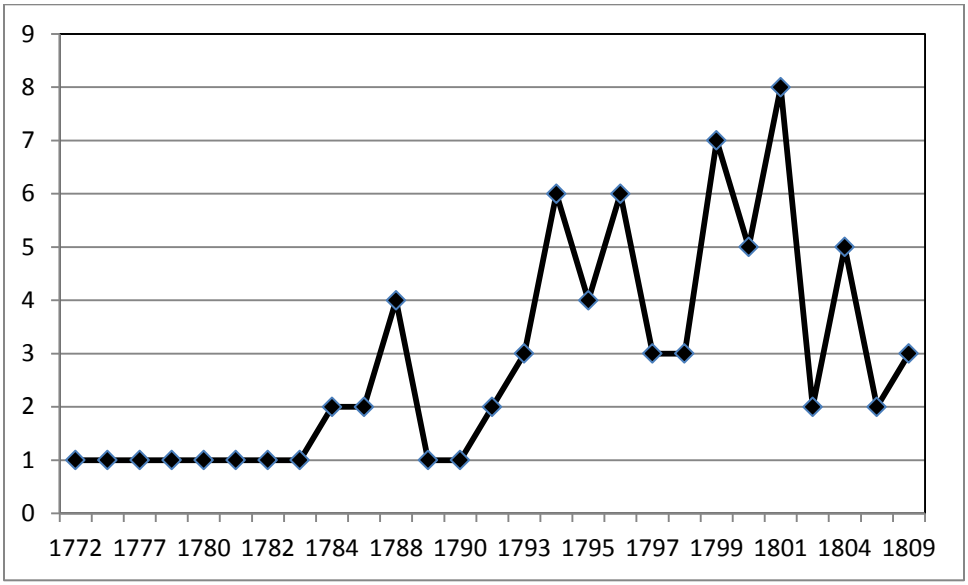
Appendix 1: *Properties and Owners in San Luis Potosí, 1712-1716, ctd.*

1712	Hacienda Guadalupe	Convent of Sn Agustín	0	84	1	19			35	4	143
1715	Hacienda Guadalupe	Convent of Sn Agustín	2	80	1	3			42		128
1712	Hacienda Sn Juan	Ignacio Lambarri	4	50	1	5	1		31		92
1716	Hacienda Sn Juan	Ignacio Lambarri	2	66		6			33	14	121
Totals			144	500	25	50	17	11	305	30	1082

Source: AGI, Mexico leg. 1043, cuadernos 15 and 16

Key: I Free-colored *Casados* II Other *Casados*
III Unmarried Mulatos IV Other Unmarried People
V *Mulato* Children VI *Lobo* Children
VII All Children VIII *Reservados*

Appendix 2. *Number of Cases Requesting Tribute Exemption per Year, 1771-1809*



Source: AGN, Californias vol. 58; Correspondencia de Virreyes vol. 181; General de Parte vols. 65, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 90; Marina vol. 3; I.V. cajas 1079, 1151, 1942, 2769, 2881, 3431, 3543, 4212, 4415, 4559, 4607, 4704, 5325, 5576, 5639, 6407, 6079; Indios vols. 69, 70 Intendencias vol. 50; Marina vol. 3; Tributos vols. 1, 12, 13, 14, 21, 26, 30, 34, 37, 55, 56; BNAH, Puebla, rollo 43.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Archivo General de Indias (AGI)
Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGN)
Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas (AHEZ)
Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia (BNAH)
The Hispanic American Historical Review (*HAHR*)
Indiferente Virreinal, AGN (I.V.)

Archival Sources

Archivo General de Indias; Seville, Spain
- Audiencia de México
- Contaduría
- Escribanía de Cámara de Justicia

Archivo General de la Nación de México; Mexico City, Mexico
- Criminal
- General de Parte
- Indiferente Virreinal
- Indios
- Intendencias
- Matrimonios
- Padrones
- Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados
- Tierras
- Tributos

Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas; Zacatecas, Mexico
- Real Hacienda, Judicial
- Tributos

Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Mexico City, Mexico
- Archivo Judicial de Puebla, microfilm collection

Published Primary Sources

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid: Sánchez, 1873.

Fonseca, Fabián and Carlos de Urrutia. *Historia general de Real Hacienda*. 6 vols. V.G. Torres: Mexico, 1845-53.

García Acosta, Virginia, Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, and América Molina del Villar. *Desastres agrícolas en México: Catálogo histórico*, *tomo I: Epocas prehispánica y colonial (958-1822)*. México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2003.

Klein, Herbert S. and John J. TePaske. *Las cartas cuentas de la Real Hacienda de la América española, siglo XVI a principios del siglo XIX* [CD-ROM]. México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 2004.

Konetzke, Richard. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamerica*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953.

Mantilla Trolle, Marina, Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, and Agustín Moreno. *Real Ordenanza para el establecimiento e instrucción de intendentes de ejército y provincial en el reino de la Nueva España: Edición anotada de la Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia*. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008.

Miño Grijalva, Manuel. *Censo de la población de la Ciudad de México, 1790 censo de Revillagigedo* [CD-ROM]. México, DF: El Colegio de México, 2002.

Ramírez Meza, Benito. "Matrícula y retasa de tributarios del Real de Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Real del Rosario, abril de 1774." *Clío* 6, no. 22 (1998): 161-197.

Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de Autoridades*. 6 vols. Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, 1729-1739.

----. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. 1st ed. Madrid: D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1780.

Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias. 4 vols. Madrid, Julián de Paredes, 1681. Facsimile reprint, Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1973.

Romero de Solís, José Miguel. *Padrón de negros en Colima de la Nueva España (siglo XVI)*. Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007.

Sánchez Santiró, Ernest. *Padrón del Arzobispado de México 1777*. México, D.F.: Archivo General de la Nación, 2003.

Sandoval, Alonso de. *Treatise on Slavery: Selections from De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute*. Transated by Nicole von Germeten. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2008.

Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743. Edited by Francisco de Solano. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988.

Solórzano Pereira, Juan de. *Política Indiana*. Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1648.

Zapata y Sandoval, Juan. *Discertación sobre justicia distributiva y sobre la acepción de personas a ella opuesta (1609)*. Edited by Arturo Ramírez Trejo. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994.

Zavala, Silvio Arturo and María Castelo. *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en la Nueva España*. 8 vols. México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939-1946.

Seconday Sources

Adams, Maeve E. "Numbers and Narratives: Epistemologies of Aggregation in British Statistics and Social Realism, c. 1790-1880." In *Statistics and the Public Sphere: Numbers and the People in Modern Britain, c. 1800-2000*, edited by Tom Crook and Glen O'Hara, 103-120. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo. *La población negra de México, 1519-1810: estudio etno-histórico*. 2nd ed. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972.

Althouse, Aaron P. "Contested Mestizos, Alleged Mulattos: Racial Identity and Caste Hierarchy in Eighteenth Century Pátzcuaro, Mexico." *The Americas* 62, no. 2 (2005): 151-175.

Álvarez, Silvia G and Cecilia Mejía de Rubira. *Parentesco, política y prestigio social en los pueblos de indios del partido de Santa Elena: Padrón de 1803*. Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 2011.

Andrien, Kenneth J. *The Kingdom of Quito, 1690-1830: The State and Regional Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Ángel Cuenya, Miguel. *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: una mirada en torno al matlazahuatl de 1737*. Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1999.

Arrom, Silvia. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Bakewell, P. J. *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Bennett, Herman L. *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

----. *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Bleichmar, Daniela. *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Bolaños, Marta Vera. "La composición de la familia en la ciudad de México en 1790. Una reconstrucción demográfica." In *La población de la ciudad de México en 1790: estructura social, alimentación y vivienda*, edited by Manuel Miño Grijalva and Sonia Pérez Toledo, 115-146. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 2004.

Bonil Gómez, Katherine. *Gobierno y calidad en el orden colonial: las categorías del mestizaje en la provincia de Mariquita en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2011..

Boyer, Richard E. "Women, *La Mala Vida,* and the Politics of Marriage." In *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Asunción Lavrín, 209-287. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

----. "Negotiating Calidad: The Everyday Struggle for Status in Mexico." *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 64-73.

----. "Honor among Plebeains: Mala Sangre and Social Reputation." In *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* edited by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, 152-78. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

----. *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.

Brading, D. A. *Miners and Merchants In Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Bristol, Joan. "From Curing to Witchcraft: Afro-Mexicans and the Mediation of Authority." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 1-37.

----. *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.

----. "Patriarchs, Petitions, and Prayers: Intersections of Gender and *Calidad* in Colonial Mexico." In *Women, Religion & the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, edited by Daniella Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf, 180-204. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Brown, Kendall. *A History of Mining in Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

Burkholder, Mark A. and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Campbell, Leon G. "Black Power in Colonial Peru: The 1779 Tax Rebellion of Lambayeque." *Phylon* 33, no. 2 (1972): 140-152.

Cañeque, Alejandro. *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Carrera, Magali. *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003.

Carroll, Patrick James. *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development*. 2nd ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

----. "Black Aliens and Black Natives in New Spain's Indigenous Communities." In *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, edited by Ben Vinson, III and Matthew Restall, 72-95. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009.

Castillo, Norma Angélica. "La pérdida de la población de origen africano en la región de Puebla." In *Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México*, edited by María Elisa Velázquez and Ethel Correa, 299-325. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2005.

Castro Gutiérrez, Felipe. *Nueva Ley y Nuevo Rey: Reformas Borbónicas y rebelión popular en Nueva España*. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996.

Celaya Nández, Yovana. *Alcabalas y Situados: Puebla en el sistema fiscal imperial, 1638-1742*. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2010.

Chance, John K. *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978.

Cobá Noh, Lorgio. *El "indio ciudadano": La tributación y la contribución personal directa en Yucatán, 1786-1825*. Mérida: Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, 2009.

Concepción Camarero Bullón. "Averiguarlo todo de todos: el catastro de Ensenada." *Estudios Geográficos* 63, no. 248/249 (2002): 493-531.

Cook, Sherburne Friend and Woodrow Wilson Borah. *Essays in Population History, Vol. I: Mexico and the Caribbean*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Cope, R. Douglas. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

Cuenya, Miguel Ángel. *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: Una mirada en torno al matlazahuatl de 1737*. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999.

Deans-Smith, Susan. *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

Doenges, Catherine E. "A Regional Society in Colonial Mexico: Eighteenth-Century Celaya, A Perspective from the Household." PhD dissertation, Syracuse University, 1993.

----. "Marriage Mobility in Late Colonial Celaya, Mexico." *Yearbook Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 22 (1996): 65-76.

Earle, Rebecca. *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Elliott, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 11492-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Escobedo Mancilla, Ronaldo. "El tributo de los zambaigos, negros y mulatos en el virreinato peruano." *Revista de Indias* 41, no. 163 (1981): 43-54.

Farriss, Nancy. *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Fisher, Andrew B. "Creating and Contesting Community: Indians and Afromestizos in the Late-Colonial Tierra Caliente of Guerrero, Mexico." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 1-32.

----. "Negotiating Two Worlds: The Free-Black Experience in Guerrero's Tierra Caliente." In *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, edited by Ben Vinson, III and Matthew Restall, 51-71. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009.

Fisher, Andrew B. and Matthew D. O'Hara. "Introduction: Racial Identites and Their Interpreters." In *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, 1-38. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Fisher, Lillian Estelle. *The Intendant System in Spanish America*. New York: Gordian Press, 1969.

Florescano, Enrique and Isabel Gil Sánchez. *Descripciones económicas regionales de Nueva España*. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1976.

Francois, Marie Eileen. *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Frederick, Jake. "Without Impediment: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Colonial Mexico." *The Americas* 67, no. 4 (2011): 495-515.

Galaviz de Capdevielle, María Elena. "Descripción y pacificación de la Sierra Gorda." *Estudios de historia novohispana* 4 (1971): 113-149.

García Bernal, Manuela Cristina. *La Sociedad de Yucatán, 1700-1750*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1972.

García Pérez Rafael D. *Reforma y resistencia: Manuel de Flon y la intendencia de Puebla*. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 2000.

----. "El régimen tributario en las intendencias novohispanas: La ordenanza para la formación de los autos de vistas, padrones, y matrículas de Revillagigedo II." *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho* 11/12 (2000): 279-307.

Gerhard, Peter. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

----. *The North Frontier of New Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Gibson, Charles. *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Gómez Gómez, Amalia. *Las visitas de la real hacienda novohispana en el reinado de Felipe V: 1710-1733*. Seville: Editorial CSIC, 1979.

Gómez, Luis Ramos and Carmen Ruigómez Gómez. "Una Propuesta a La Corona Para Extender La Mita y El Tributo a Negros, Mestizos y Mulatos (Ecuador, 1735-1748)." *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 25 (1999): 99-110.

González-Soriano, Fabricio. "Herencia patológica en la medicina mexicana de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX." *El Boletín Mexicano de Historia y Filosofía de la Medicina* 11, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.

Grafe, Regina and Maria Alejandra Irigoin. "The Spanish Empire and its Legacy: Fiscal Re-distribution and Political Conflict in Colonial and Post-Colonial Spanish America." *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 2 (2006): 241-267.

Granados, Luis Fernando. "Cosmopolitan Indians and Mesoamerican Barrios in Bourbon Mexico City: Tribute, Community, Family and Work in 1800." Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 2008.

Graubart, Karen B. *With our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.
----. "The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560-1640." *HAHR* 89, no. 3 (2009): 471-499.

Guardino, Peter F. *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Guevara Sangiés, María. "Vida cotidiana de castas en Guanajuato, siglo XVIII." In *Pardos, Mulatos y Libertos: Sexto Encuentro de Afromexicanistas*, edited by Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita, 139-161. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2001.

Hämäläinen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Hamnett, Brian. *Politics and Trade in Southern México: 1750-1821*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Helg, Aline. *Liberty & Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Hering Torres, Max S. "Purity of Blood: Problems of Interpretation." In *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, edited by María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg, and Max-Sebastián Hering Torres, 11-38. Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2012.

Hernádez Esteve, Esteban. "Reflexiones sobre la naturaleza y los orígenes de la contabilidad por partida doble." *Pecvnia* no. 1 (2005): 93-124.

Herzog, Tamar. *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Irigoin, Maria Alejandra and Regina Grafe. "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire Building." *HAHR* 88, no. 2 (2008): 173-209.

Jáuregui, Luis. *La Real Hacienda de Nueva España: Su administración en la época de los intendentes, 1786-1821*. México, DF: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1999.

Kagan, Richard L. *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500-1700*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

Kanter, Deborah E. *Hijos del Pueblo: Gender, Family, and Community in Rural Mexico, 1730-1850*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Kellogg, Susan. "From Parallel Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenocha Mexica Women, 1500-1700." In *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, edited by Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Gail Wood, and Robert Stephen Haskett, 123-144. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

Klein, Herbert S. *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680-1809*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Klein, Herbert S. and Ben Vinson, III. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Lafuente, Antonio and Nuria Valverde. "Making Scientific Objects and Setting Standards: Values, Technology, Government and the Enlightenment." *EMPIRIA: Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales* 18 (2009): 115-146.

Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Larvín, Asunción. "In search of the colonial woman in Mexico: the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." In *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, edited by Asunción Larvín, 3-22. Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1978.

Larvín, Asunción and Edith Courturier. "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790." *HAHR* 59, no. 2 (1979): 280-304.

Lewis, Laura. *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Lokken, Paul. "La recaudación del tributo de laborío y la formación burocrática de identidades sociales en la provincia de Guatemala, 1608-1644." *Boletín de la Asociación para el Fomento de los Estudios Históricos en Centroamérica* 51, no. 1 (2011): 1-49.

----. "Useful Enemies: Seventeenth-Century Piracy and the Rise of Pardo Militias in Spanish Central America." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5, no. 2 (2004): 1-24.

López-Beltrán, Carlos. "The Medical Origins of Heredity." In *Heredity Produced: At the Crossroads of Biology, Politics, and Culture, 1500-1870*, edited by Staffan Müller-Wille and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, 105-132. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007.

Love, Edgar F. "Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial Mexico City Parish." *HAHR* 51, no. 1 (1971): 79-91.

Lutz, Christopher. *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Madeira Santos, Catarina. "Administrative knowledge in a colonial context: Angola in the eighteenth century." *British Journal for the History of Science* 43, no. 4 (2010): 539-556.

Marichal, Carlos and Matilde Souto Mantecón. "Silver and Situados: New Spain and the Financing of the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century." *HAHR* 74 no. 4 (1994): 587-613.

Marichal, Carlos. "Una difícil transición fiscal. Del régimen colonial al México independiente, 1750-1850." In *De colonia a nación: Impuestos y política en México, 1750-1860*, edited by Carlos Marichal and Daniela Marino, 19-58. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2001.

----. *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760-1810*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Marín Bosch, Miguel. *Puebla neocolonial, 1777-1831: casta, ocupación y matrimonio en la segunda ciudad de Nueva España*. Zapopan: Colegio de Jalisco, 1999.

Marino, Daniela. "El afán de recaudar y la dificultad de reformar: El tributo indígena en la Nueva España tardocolonial." In *De colonia a nación: Impuestos y política en México, 1750-1860*, edited by Carlos Marichal and Daniela Marino, 61-83. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2001.

Martin, Cheryl English. "Indigenous Peoples." In *The Countryside in Latin America*, edited by Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, 187-212. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

----. *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Martínez, María Elena. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

----. "The Language, Genealogy, and Classification of 'Race' in Colonial Mexico." In *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, edited by Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith, 25-42. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Matthew, Laura E. *Memories of Conquest: Becoming Mexicano in Colonial Guatemala*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

McCaa, Robert. "Calidad, Clase and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788–90." *HAHR* 64, no. 3 (1984): 477-501.

McEnroe, Sean F. *From Colony to Nationhood in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Mecham, J. Lloyd. "The Real de Minas as a Political Institution. A Study of a Frontier Institution in Spanish Colonial America." *HAHR* 7, no. 1 (1927: 45-83.

Milton, Cynthia. *The Many Meanings of Poverty: Colonialism, Social Compacts, and Assistance in Eighteenth-Century Ecuador*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Milton, Cynthia E. and Ben Vinson III. "Counting Heads: Race and Non-Native Tribute Policy in Colonial Spanish America." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 3, no. 3 (2002): 1-49.

Miranda Nava, Luis Enrique. *La esclavitud en el Valle de Toluca, 1558-1630*. Toluca de Lerdo, Estado de México: Gobierno del Estado de México, 2010.

Miranda, José. *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI*. 2d ed. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2005.

Molina del Villar, América. "Tributos y calamidades en el centro de la Nueva España, 1727-1762. Los límites del impuesto justo." *Historia Mexicana* 54, no. 1 (2004): 15-57.

----. "Las prácticas sanitarias y médicas en la Ciudad de México, 1736-1739." *Estudios del hombre* 20 (2005): 39-58.

Morgan, Jennifer. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Naveda Chávez-Hita, Adriana. "Denominaciones raciales en archivos locales." In *Pardos, Mulatos y Libertos: Sexto Encuentro de Afromexicanistas*, edited by Naveda Chávez-Hita, 195-206. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2001.

Nirenberg, David. "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain." *Past & Present* 174, no. 1 (2002): 3-41.

O'Hara, Matthew. *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in México, 1749-1857*. Durham: Duke University Press: 2010.

O'Phelan Godoy, Scarlett. *Rebellions in Revolts in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru*. Cologne: Bohlau Verlag & Cie, 1985, 75.

O'Toole, Rachel Sarah. *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.

Osborn, Wayne S. "Indian Land Retention in Colonial Metztitlan." *HAHR* 53, no. 2 (1973): 217-238.

Owensby, Brian. *Empire of Law and Indian Justice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Pagden, Anthony. "Identity formation in Spanish America." In *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by Nicolas P. Canny and Anthony Pagden, 51-94. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Paquette, Gabriel B. *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform in Spain and Its Empire 1759-1808*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

----. "Introduction: Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies in the Long Eighteenth Century." In *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830*, edited by Gabriel B. Paquette, 1-20. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.

Patch, Robert. *Maya Revolt and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.

Pérez Rosales, Laura. *Minería y sociedad en Taxco durante el siglo XVIII*. México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1996.

Pérez Toledo, Sonia and Herbert S. Klein. *Población y estructura social de la Ciudad de México, 1790-1842*. México, DF: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2005.

Pescador, Juan Javier. *De bautizados a fieles difuntos: Familia y mentalidades en una parroquia urbana, Santa Catarina de México, 1568-1820*. México, D.F.: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano, 1992.

Phelan, John Leddy. "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1960): 47-65.

----. *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.

Poska, Allyson M. "Babies on Board: Women, Children and Imperial Policy in the Spanish Empire." *Gender & History* 22, no. 2 (August 2010): 269-83.

Powell, Philip Wayne. *Soldiers, Indians & Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.

Premo, Bianca. *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Proctor, Frank T. "La familia y la comunidad esclava en San Luis Potosí y Guanajuato: 1640-1750." In *Rutas de la esclavitud en África y América Latina*, edited by Rina Cáceres Gómez, 223-50. San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001.

----. "Afro-Mexican Slave Labor in the Obrajes de Paños of New Spain, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *The Americas* 60, no. 1 (2003): 33-58.

Rabell Romero, Cecilia. "Trayectoria de vida familiar, raza y género en Oaxaca colonial." In *Familia y vida privada en la historia de Iberoamérica: Seminario de Historia de la Familia*, edited by Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru and Cecilia Rabell Romero, 75-118. México, DF: Colegio de México and UNAM, 1996.

Ramos, Frances L. *Identity, Ritual, and Power in Colonial Puebla*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012.

Rappaport, Joanne. "'Asi Lo Paresçe Por Su Aspeto': Physiognomy and the Construction of Difference in Colonial Bogotá." *HAHR* 91, no. 4 (2011): 601-631.

Río, Ignacio del. *La Aplicación Regional De Las Reformas Borbónicas En Nueva España: Sonora y Sinaloa, 1768-1787*. 1a ed. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995.

Romero de Solís, José Miguel. *Negros y mulatos en Colima de la Nueva España (siglo XVI)*. Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2007.

Rubio Mañé, José Ignacio. *El Virreinato: Orígenes y jurisdicciones, y dinámica social de los virreyes.* Vol. 1. México, D.F.: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Autónoma de México, 1983.

Safier, Neil. *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Sánchez Santiró, Ernest. *Azúcar y poder: Estructura socioeconómica de las alcaldías mayores de Cuernavaca y Cuautla Amilpas, 1730-1821*. México, D.F.: Editorial Praxis, 2001.

----. "Plata y privilegios: el Real de minas de Huautla, 1709-1821." *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 26, no. 26 (2002): 85-123.

Schwaller, Robert C. "'Mulata, Hija De Negro y India': Afro-Indigenous Mulatos in Early Colonial Mexico." *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (2011): 889-914.

----. "'For Honor and Defence': Race and the Right to Bear Arms in Early Colonial Mexico." *Colonial Latin American Review* 21, no. 2 (2012): 239-266.

Schwartz, Stuart B. and Hal Langfur. "Tapanhuns, Negros de Terra, and Curibocas: Common Cause and Confrontation between Blacks and Natives in Colonial Brazil." In *Beyond Black and Red: African-native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Matthew Restall, 81-114. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Seed, Patricia. *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Sheltonin, Laura. "Like a Servant or like a Son? : Circulating Children in Northwestern Mexico (1790-1850)." In *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America* edited by Ondina E. González, Bianca Premo, 219-237. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007.

Stein, Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein. *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

----. *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Storrs, Christopher. "Felipe V: Caesura or Continuity?" In *Early Bourbon Spanish America: Politics and Society in a Forgotten Era (1700-1759)*, edited by Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso and Ainara Vázquez Varela, 9-22. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Sue, Christina A. *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Tavárez, David. "Legally Indian: Inquisitorial Readings of Indigenous Identity in New Spain." In *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Spanish America*, edited by Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, 81-100. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

TePaske, John J. "Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America." In *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, 29-41. New York, Routledge, 2002.

Terrazas, Danielle. "Capitalizing Subjects: Free African-Descended Women of Means in Xalapa, Veracruz during the Long Seventeenth Century." Duke, PhD diss. 2012.

Thomson, Guy P.C. *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

Thurner, Mark. *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Torales Pacheco, María Cristina. *Ilustrados en la Nueva España: los socios de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*. México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2001.

Tutino, John. *Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Twinam, Ann. *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

----. "Purchasing Whiteness: Conversation on the Essence of Pardo-ness and Mulatto-ness at the End of Empire." In *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Spanish America*, edited by Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, 141-166. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Urquijo, José María Mariluz. *El agente de la administración pública en Indias*. Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano, 1998.

Van Young, Eric. *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Velázquez Gutiérrez, María Elisa. *Mujeres de origen africano en la capital novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII*. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006.

Vinson III, Ben. "The Racial Profile of a Rural Mexican Province in the 'Costa Chica:' Igualapa in 1791." *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (2000): 269–282.

----. *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-colored Militia in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

----. "From Dawn 'till Dusk: Black Labor in Late Colonial Mexico." In *Black Mexico: Race and Society from Colonial to Modern Times*, edited by Ben Vinson, III, and Matthew Restall, 96-135. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009.

----. "Facetas del concepto de castas: Observaciones sobre la interpretación y el significado de "*casta*" en la Nueva España." In *Vicisitudes Negro Africanas en Iberoamerica: Experiencias de Investigación*, edited by Juan Manuel de la Serna, 357-383. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2012.

Vinson III, Ben and Matthew Restall. "Black Soldiers, Native Soldiers: Meanings of Military Service in the Spanish American Colonies." In *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Matthew Restall, 15-52. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Von Germeten, Nicole. *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006.

Von Mentz, Brígida. "Esclavitud en centros mineros y azucareros novohispanos. Algunas propuestas para el estudio de la multietnicidad en el centro de México." In *Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México*, edited by María Elisa Velázquez Gutiérrez and Ethel Correa Duró, 259-280. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2005.

Vos, Paula de. "The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary: Natural History and the Collection of Curiosities in the Spanish Empire." In *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800*, edited by Daniela Bleichmar, 271-90. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Wade, Peter. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press, 2010.

Weber, David. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Woodrow Wilson Borah. *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Wulf, Karin A. *Not all Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Yacher, Leon. "Marriage Migration and Racial Mixing in Colonial Tlazazalca, 1750-1800." Syracuse University Department of Geography, Discussion Paper Series, no. 32 (1977): 1-38.

Yannakakis, Yanna. "Costumbre: A Language of Negotiation in Eighteenth-century Oaxaca." In *Negotiation within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State*, edited by Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg, 137-171. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.

Zavala, Silvio. *El servicio personal de los indios en la Nueva España*. 7 vols. México, DF: Colegio de México, 1984.

Zúñiga, Jean-Paul. "Visible Signs of Belonging: The Spanish Empire and the Rise of Racial Logics in the Early Modern Period." In *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* edited by Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Gaetano Sabatini Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012 125-146.

Biography

Norah Andrews is a historian of colonial Latin America whose current research examines the intersections between reputation, gender, and taxation in eighteenth-century Mexico. She received a B.A. with High Honors in Latin American Studies from Wesleyan University in 2007 and an M.A. in History from The Johns Hopkins University in 2010. In May 2014, she defended her dissertation, "Taxing Blackness: Tribute and Free-colored Community in Colonial Mexico" under the direction of Ben Vinson, III and Gabriel Paquette. From 2010-11, Norah conducted archival research in Mexico City, Zacatecas, and Seville with the support of a Mellon Dissertation Fellowship in the Humanities in Original Sources from the Council on Library and Information Resources. She is from Chapel Hill, North Carolina.